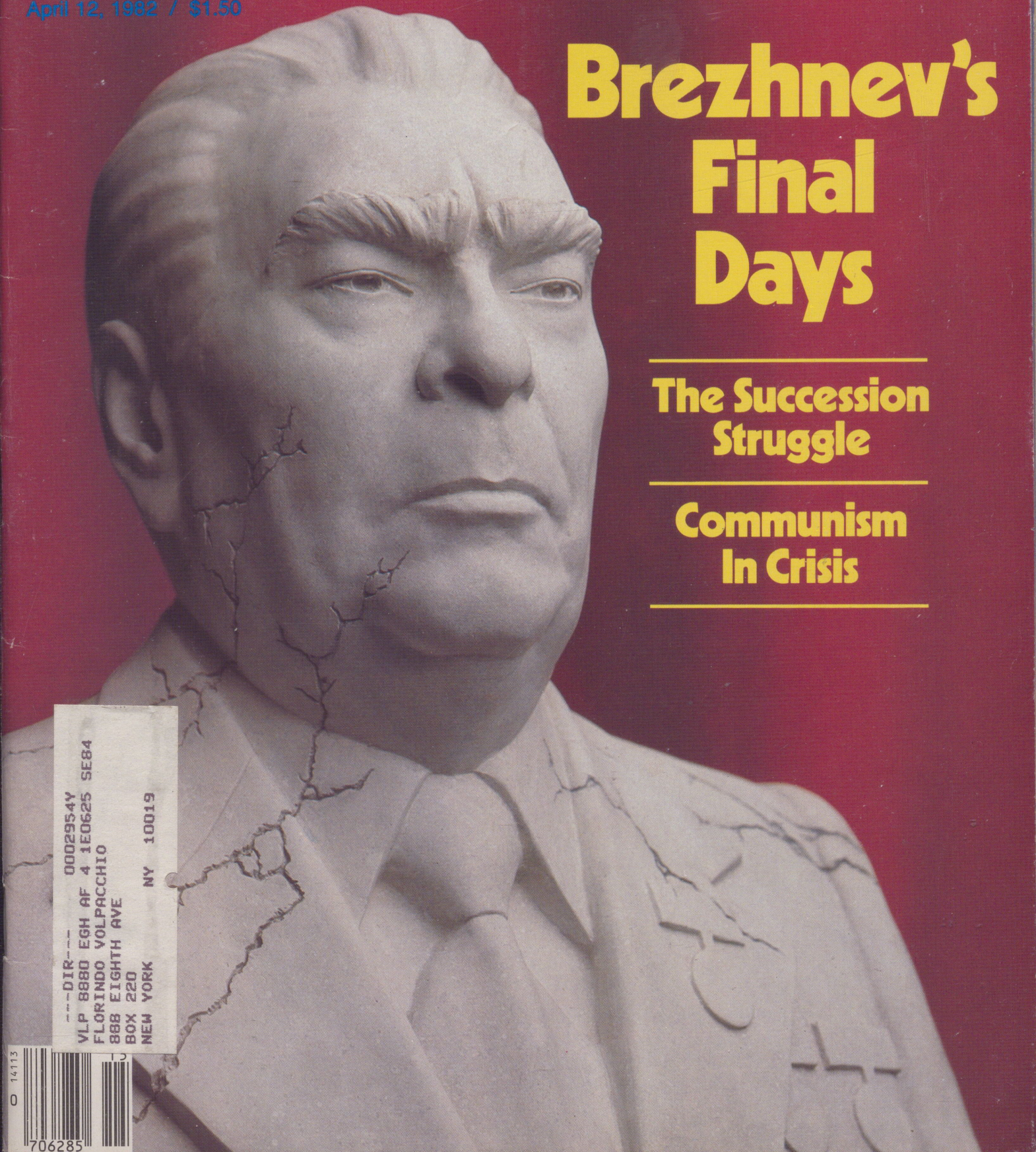
The Herpes Epidemic

Newsweek

April 12, 1982 / $1.50



Brezhnev's Final Days

The Succession Struggle

Communism In Crisis

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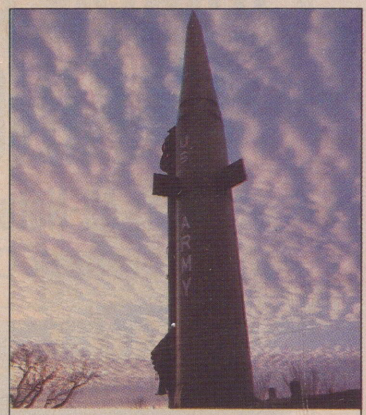
Brezhnev's Final Days

For months he has looked ill and distracted—and last week there were signs that Leonid Brezhnev's eighteen-year reign over the Soviet Union might be drawing to an end. Brezhnev vanished from sight, and there were reports that he was gravely ill—perhaps with a stroke. Byzantine maneuvering to succeed the Soviet leader was already under way within the Politburo. NEWSWEEK examines Brezhnev's illness, profiles his possible successors, analyzes the consequences for the West and presents an anatomy of the growing economic crisis his heirs will face. *Page 30*

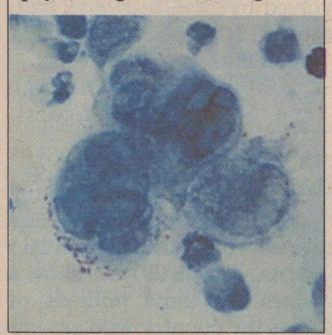


Reagan Vs. the Freeze

Ronald Reagan is trying to defuse the grass-roots movement for a freeze on atomic weapons. But his contention last week that the Soviet Union now enjoys nuclear superiority stirred a new debate. And the freeze movement itself, fueled by a spate of new books, is gaining momentum. *Page 18*

The New VD

Twenty million Americans now suffer from genital herpes, a virus infection that has become the major venereal disease of the '80s. Although the disease is occasionally life-threatening, its most serious impact may be psychological. *Page 75*



TV News War

Haunted by the memory of Huntley and Brinkley's success, NBC's new anchor team of Roger Mudd and Tom Brokaw takes to the airwaves this week. Their debut is the latest air strike in the most furious network-news war in television history. *Page 72*

Paying for College

To many parents of college students, tuition costs seem to have soared out of sight. In fact, adjusted for inflation, college costs did not rise at all during the '70s—but in the past two years they have outstripped inflation, and show every sign of climbing higher. *Page 56*

De Chirico's Magic

To open the first galleries of its expanded quarters in New York City, the Museum of Modern Art has mounted a superb show of one of modernism's greatest innovators—the "metaphysical" Italian painter Giorgio de Chirico. *Page 88*

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LETTERS

1982 our assets will increase to more than $4 billion, and our net worth will increase to more than $170 million. We have just assisted Federal regulators in rescuing a troubled Los Angeles association, and on March 15 were officially praised for our healthy financial condition by California regulators.

San Diego Federal is proud of its reputation for success. We urge your magazine to take immediate steps to correct false impressions left with your readers and our customers.

JAMES C. SCHMIDT
President and Managing Officer
San Diego Federal
San Diego, Calif.

✓ NEWSWEEK *regrets any false impression readers may have received and is glad to make the record clear.*

Children With Dyslexia

NEWSWEEK deserves the humanitarian-of-the-year award for your update, and scoop, on dyslexia (MEDICINE, March 22). As proud parents of such gifted and able youngsters, we can affirm that all the educational and social problems you describe in schools do happen. After years, and two state-level due-process appeals, it became apparent that the school system had no remedy nor any intention of even addressing the problem. We have since encountered so many similar situations that we believe the frequency of the problem is the reason schools ignore it. We were fortunate enough, however, to have consulted some of the authorities you mention in your article. While there are no "miracle" cures, transformation in youngsters who receive appropriate help is truly remarkable. These are the kids who will one day help find a solution to the problem you describe so well.

RALPH and NORMA HOLMES
Fairfax County, Va.

Music and Art

John Ashbery's piece "The Look of Music" (ART, March 22) is wonderful. It made even an old conservative like me, who "can't relate" to modern music and pictures, want to know more about John Cage's music and etchings. Ashbery's last sentence is true in a much more universal sense: if you approach people or situations generally without expectations of any kind, you will find them richly rewarding more often than not. Thanks to NEWSWEEK for opening up another new world.

HENRY FRANK
East Lempster, N.H.

John Cage's supreme and only achievement has been to extract free publicity from organs like NEWSWEEK, which ought to know better, with the dubious lure of his sterile, vacuous, cheerless and talentless drivel. The fads that make us hip come and go, but Cage remains for a pathetically vul-

SCIENCE/SCOPE

A research vessel crewman may owe his eyesight to the oldest, continually-operating communications satellite. The man was helping conduct climate tests in the Pacific Ocean last year when one eye became infected. (He previously had surgery on the eye after fragments from an exploding light bulb injured it.) The man's doctor in Seattle was contacted via radio to prescribe care, but the infection worsened and radio contact was lost. The ship's medical technician turned to NASA's ATS-1 satellite to arrange an evacuation. When the ship docked at the Galapagos Islands, a waiting plane flew the crewman to Panama for treatment that may have saved his sight. The Hughes-built ATS-1, though expected to serve just three years, recently celebrated its 15th year in orbit.

Satellite pictures are helping with fire and flood management in Southern California. State officials have used false-color images from NASA's Landsat 2 spacecraft to make detailed surveys of vegetation types, age, and density, and to gather information on soils, slopes, and geology. Armed with this data, officials were able to design a program using helicopters and new techniques for controlled burning of dense chaparral areas. Landsat 2's electronic camera, a multispectral scanner, was developed and built by Hughes.

A new software system can translate naval tactical messages into understandable form. Messages within a command, control, and communications (C^3) system are typically hard to understand because they are transmitted in telegram form and often omit subjects, direct objects, articles, prepositions, and punctuation. If grammatical errors creep in, messages can be rendered unintelligible. While conventional computer techniques can't make sense of a garbled message, a Hughes message understanding system called GRACIE can. Using artificial intelligence techniques, GRACIE understands general descriptions of flights of aircraft over ships, of attacks, and of encounters with hostile ships. It constructs grammatical sentences based on what it expects messages to be, referring when necessary to a "rule book" of examples. It can be adapted for other than naval use.

Australia will inaugurate a satellite communications system in 1985 to carry telephone, television, radio, and business data throughout the country. The system will consist of three satellites based on the design of Hughes' HS 376 model, the most-purchased commercial communications satellite in the world. This drum-shaped spacecraft has a telescoping cylindrical panel of solar cells to provide extra power. The program also includes construction of tracking, telemetry, and command stations in Sydney and Perth.

Hughes is seeking engineers to develop advanced systems and components for many different weather and communications satellites, plus the Galileo Jupiter Probe. Immediate openings exist in applications software development, data processing, digital subsystems test, microwave/RF circuit design, power supply design, digital communications, signal processing, spacecraft antenna design, system integration test and evaluation, and TELCO interconnection. Send your resume to Tom W. Royston, Hughes Space & Communications Group, Dept. SE, Bldg. S/41, M.S. A300, P.O. Box 92191, Los Angeles, CA 90009. Equal opportunity employer.

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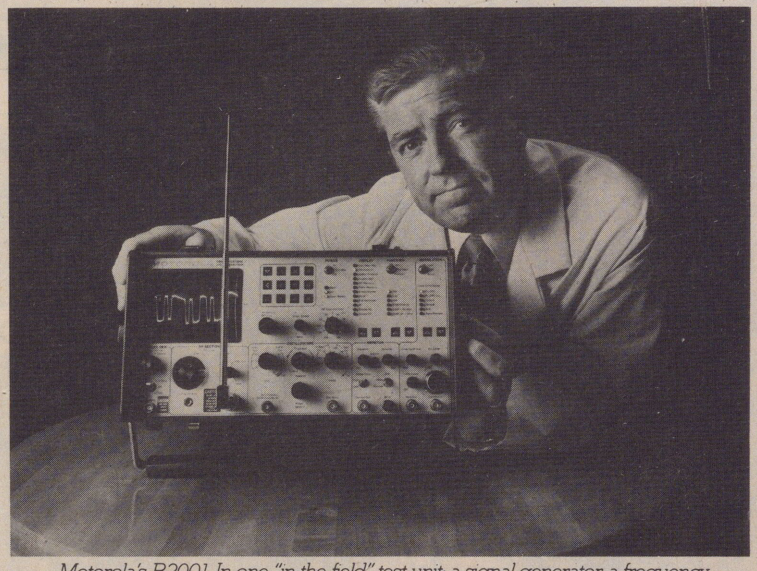

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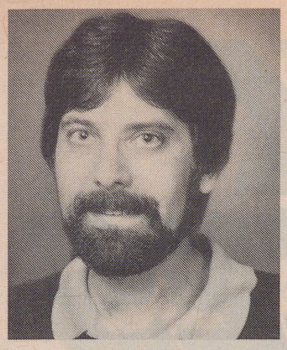

A Letter From California

MY TURN/JONATHAN KELLERMAN

Just thought we'd drop a line from the land of sunshine and palm trees. The weather's been really gorgeous out here. We haven't had to deal with things like putting chains on tires, shoveling snow, dressing in eighteen layers of clothing and defrosting our noses. Needless to say this leaves us plenty of time to get into mischief and wax creative. (Recently a whole bunch of us have been out of work, so there's even more free time to go around!) Is it any wonder, then, that important cultural phenomena such as roller disco and canine psychotherapy had their origins in Babylon-on-the-Pacific?

We know you folks in other parts of the country like to be well-informed and we worried that sleet and hail may have delayed the arrival of your newspapers and magazines. Then too, there are those nasty power failures shutting off the TV. So we did some research and compiled a brief summary of the more relevant sociological developments of recent weeks to help you welcome the spring. Here goes:

■ **Bathtubbing.** For those of you who were just about ready to go out and purchase a redwood hot tub, forget it! Déclassé! Our Delphic trend setters have realized that the hot tub was an intrinsically oppressive institution, not to mention the splinters. Let's face it, with a hot tub all you could get was hot. In this age of expanded opportunities, such narrow-minded rigidity is clearly out of sync. And those wooden tubs—ugh!—clearly neorustic throwbacks to the vulgar '60s. The '80s are ushering in an age of elegance, and what could be more elegant than porcelain? Yes, cool, aristocratic porcelain in a stunning array of pastel colors. The new bathtubs, as they've been christened, come equipped with a wide choice of temperature controls. The adventurous soaker can flip and turn handles and expose himself to everything from frigid, marrow-chilling cold to steamy hot. Now that's freedom! Some of the kinkier among us have even begun to experiment with accouterments of rubber and plastic—small ducks and fish that make adorable squeaky noises and lend a truly festive flavor to the bathtub experience.

■ **Acunagging.** First came acupuncture, with all of those frightening needles. It worked, but it was so uncomfortable. Fear no more. Recent data from the Institute for Psychoconfusion in Topanga Canyon indicate that a purely verbal approach is equally effective in reducing pain. The therapist positions himself opposite the patient and asks a question, such as:

"Now tell me, where does it hurt?"

"Right here, doctor, in the back of my neck."

"Please show me exactly where the pain is centered."

"Right—here."

"There? That's where it hurts?"

"Uh-huh."

"And how badly does it hurt?"

"Pretty badly."

A brief summary of recent sociological developments to help you welcome the spring.

"Could you be more specific? Does it hurt about as badly as being run over by a truck?"

"Oh, no. Not that bad!"

"Not that bad and you're bothering me with it? You call that pain? What do you know about pain? I once had a pain you wouldn't believe. It spread from right down here all the way to . . ."

Patients undergoing acunagging report an almost miraculous cessation of discomfort due to their initial complaint, although secondary splitting headaches are frequently reported after treatments. Since this finding does not conform to any of our currently respected systems of neuroanatomy, the institute has requested further research funding.

■ **Technojogging.** Sure, running is good for you. But it's fraught with hazards—large dogs, skateboarders and unnatural stress placed on various joints and muscles. It's also a very slow way of getting from place to place. In the words of Dr. Helmut Cognutt of the Society of Biorhythmic Manipulation, "If God meant us to jog, we would have been born with Adidases on our feet. Or at least Nikes." Cognutt and his colleagues have conducted extensive research into the efficient interfacing of man and machine, investigating optimal ways in which human beings can derive pleasure from a good, solid relationship with a hunk of steel, plastic and rubber. What they've come up with is technojogging.

The novice technojogger selects a relatively simple machine—one with automatic transmission and power steering. He concentrates upon assuming the proper posture: sitting in an erect, alert position that is good for muscle tone and spinal alignment, gripping the steering wheel with confident firmness. Feet are poised and sensitive to the slightest nuance of the course, pressing upon gas pedal, then brake, then gas pedal again. Unexpected road hazards have the effect of creating sudden increases in blood pressure, respiration and muscle tension. Subsequent relief from this jolt of adrenaline-triggered hyperalertness is often accompanied by a feeling of euphoria, typified by statements such as "Phew! That was close" and "That @#$%&* moron. He almost plowed right into us!"

The experienced technojogger advances to such challenges as manual transmission, motorcycles and the ever popular marathon wait at the gas pump. (The latter is a seasonal event. It often follows a period of unnaturally low fuel prices.)

Well, we'd like to go on, 'cause there's so much more, but it's 70 degrees outside and we've got a busy day ahead of us. First there's an hour session of Primal Whimpering. Then a good hearty breakfast of sprouts, wood chips and Hathayogurt. Followed by a technojog down to the hairdresser for a reset on our new Wheatrow, our lesson in conversational Indianan and a good, long soak in the bathtub. (We're trying something new tonight: soap!)

Hope it's been good for you hearing from us, 'cause we've certainly loved every minute of it. Letter writing is part of our new ecological movement: SAVE THE POST OFFICE (we've got bumper stickers for when the ice melts off your bumpers).

Jonathan Kellerman lives and works in southern California, where he is a psychologist, naturally.

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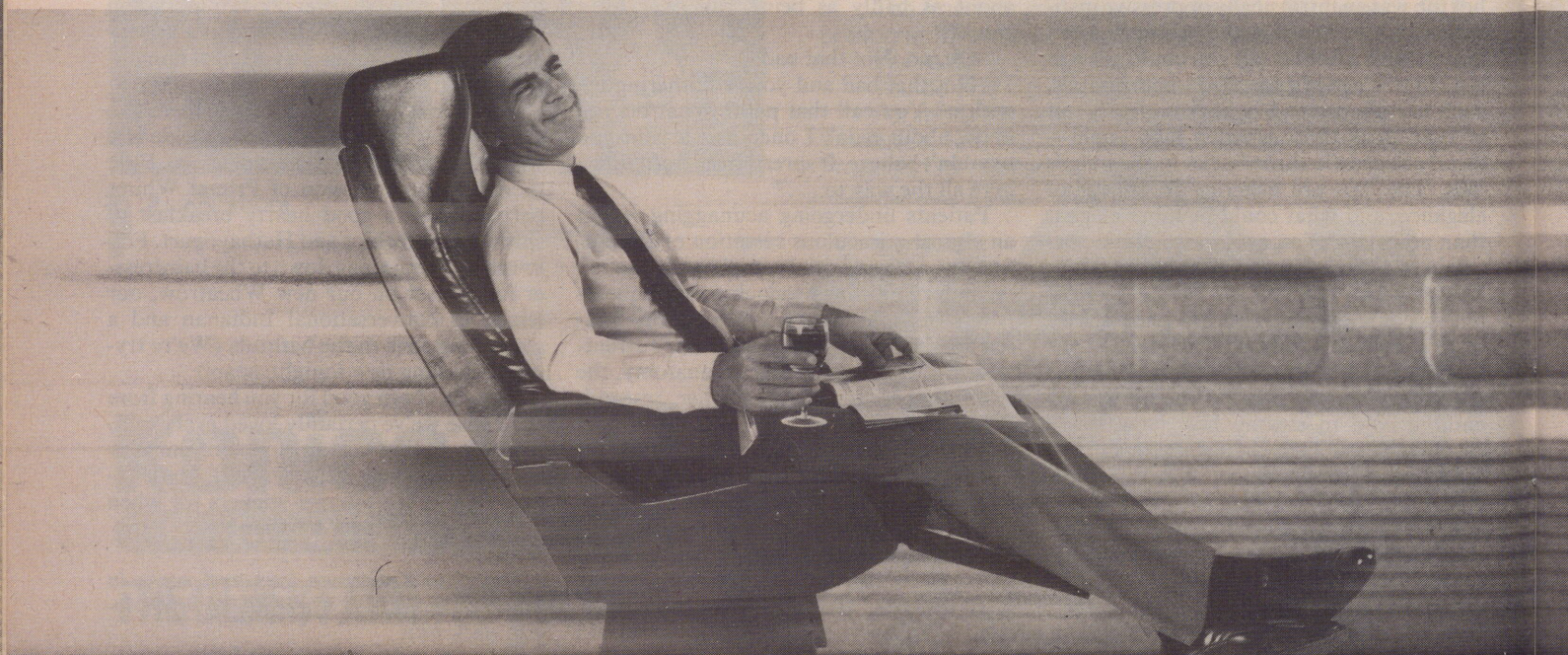

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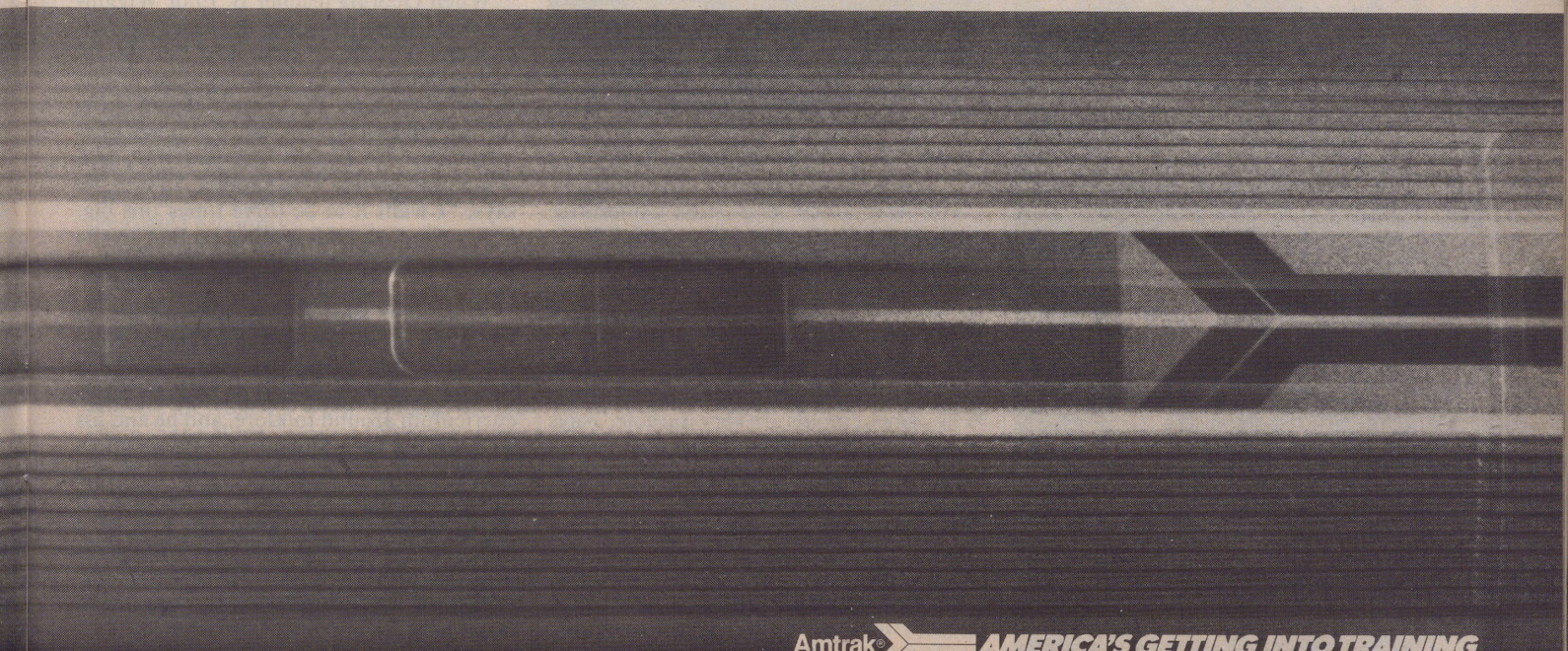
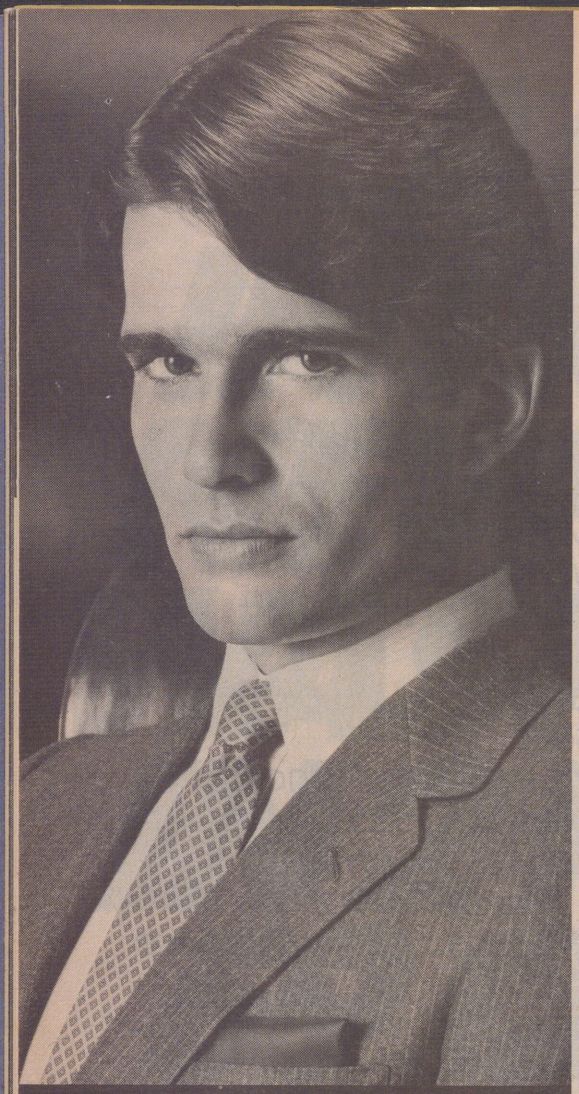


Amtrak AMERICA'S GETTING INTO TRAINING



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UPDATE

The Acropolis: Fighting Pollution

The **Acropolis,** wrote the ancient historian Plutarch, "contains a living and incorruptible breath, a spirit impervious to age." Its spirit may be ageless, but the once gleaming complex of marble monuments above Athens has been so battered by earthquakes, war and—most recently—pollution that it is slowly crumbling into dusty rubble. As a consequence, the Greek Government has launched a $5 million restoration program that should be finished in the mid-1990s. Then, says George Plytas, the former mayor of Athens, "the monuments will hold for generations."

Sipa—Black Star

Carting off a caryatid: Durable copies

The Acropolis Preservation Committee started with the Erechtheum, a small Ionic temple with a portico held up by caryatids (pillars shaped like maidens). The marble caryatids, which have been replaced with sand-colored cement copies, were sent to the Acropolis museum, where they will be put in a climate-controlled display case. "The cement molds are very durable," says one worker. "They look almost like the real thing from a distance, and they are expendable." Restorers have also removed the iron clamps and rods that were installed earlier this century. Unfortunately the iron corroded in the sea air and cracked the marble it was supposed to reinforce. This time workers will use rust-resistant titanium; missing or corroded stones that are vital to the building's structure will be replaced with new marble. "We preserve all we can from the original pieces, adding only what is absolutely necessary," explains architect Alexandros Papanikolaou. "You never know—some of the missing parts may turn up in future excavations."

When the Erechtheum is finished, work will begin on the Acropolis's centerpiece, the Parthenon. Restorers will place a huge crane within the roofless temple to hoist out 10-ton blocks of marble for repairs. Although a marble ceiling has been ready for 25 years, the preservation committee—worried that the added weight might crush the weakened building—decided not to install it.

Vibrations: The Greek Government has taken other steps to protect the Acropolis from further decay. Cars and buses are no longer allowed on the hill, and airplanes have been rerouted from the area to minimize vibrations. The government has roped off the building, and whistle-blowing guards keep the more than 1 million tourists a year from venturing off the encircling walkways.

The worst chemical pollutant is sulfur dioxide, which eats away at the marble and changes it to gypsum. The government has outlawed the burning of sulfur-rich fuels within a 1-mile radius of the Acropolis and has offered incentives to factories to move out of the city. Now a team of scientists at the University of Athens is attempting a rare bit of alchemy: transforming gypsum back into marble with the aid of heat, high pressure and carbon dioxide. "If we manage to do that," says Papanikolaou, "we'll have a real breakthrough in restoration."

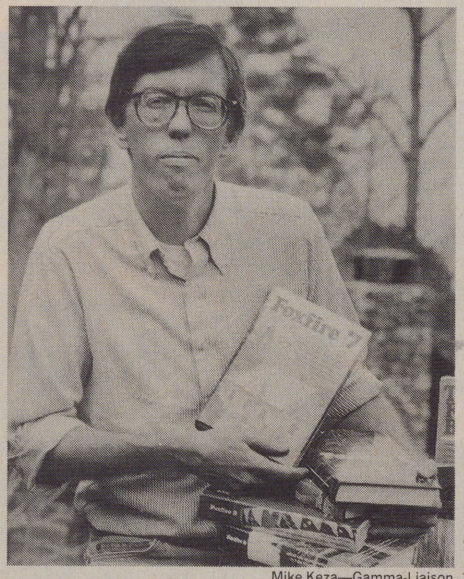
Foxfire: A Glowing Folklore Empire

When Georgia teacher B. Eliot Wigginton sent his students into the nearby Appalachians in 1966 to interview the elderly mountaineers about half-forgotten crafts, he never thought his project would grow into a business empire—and a national phenomenon. But **Foxfire** did just that, and Wigginton couldn't be happier. In fact, he says, "I want it to be three times this big. Every time we add another section to the program, that's another 20 or 30 kids that have another outlet."

Wigginton devised his assignment to stimulate his ninth- and tenth-grade English students, bored by lectures. They showed such interest that he built an entire curriculum around folklore, and he and his students put their homespun wisdom into a magazine that they named Foxfire, after a tiny forest fungus that glows in the dark. In 1972 Wigginton published the first of a series of "Foxfire" books that has sold over 5 million copies and provided tips on everything from moonshining to horse-trading to fashioning dolls out of corn shucks. Last month he published his seventh volume. Unlike the others, it deals with a single

theme: religious practices in the Blue Ridge Mountains, including revival meetings, gospel singing and snake handling. "Foxfire 7" was edited not by Wigginton, but by Paul Gillespie, one of the students involved in the original project. Gillespie moved back to Georgia's Rabun Gap County after receiving a bachelor's degree in American history from the University of Virginia. With his return, says Wigginton, "we've come full circle."

Catalog: Wigginton, 39, has turned over the book royalties to his nonprofit corporation, Foxfire Fund, Inc., which runs a teaching center on 110 acres in Rabun Gap. The fund offers sixteen accredited high-school courses, including bookkeeping, environmental studies and photography, and produces cable-television shows and albums of mountain music. Wigginton hopes to hire nearly 25 students this summer to compile material for two more Foxfire books and to make trinkets for a Foxfire



Mike Keza—Gamma-Liaison

Wigginton: 'We've come full circle'

souvenir stand in a nearby state park. The staff may also publish a catalog to market mountain products like buckwheat-pancake mix and blackberry jam by direct mail—a potential boon for Rabun Gap's depressed economy.

Wigginton still finds time for speaking engagements around the country—many of them arranged by school officials interested in setting up Foxfire-type programs of their own. He usually takes a couple of his students with him. "The books and the magazine are the students' work, and they should share in the glory," he says. "Besides, some of them have never been out of the county before." Won't Foxfire eventually burn itself out? "Oh no," says Wigginton, pulling a thick file from an overflowing desk drawer. "These are all ideas for stories, just recent ideas. I can't ever imagine running out of material."

EILEEN KEERDOJA with PETER MELLAS in Athens and JAN DeBLIEU in Rabun Gap

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Consumer Orientation
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Subject: Optimization of Driver Performance

13

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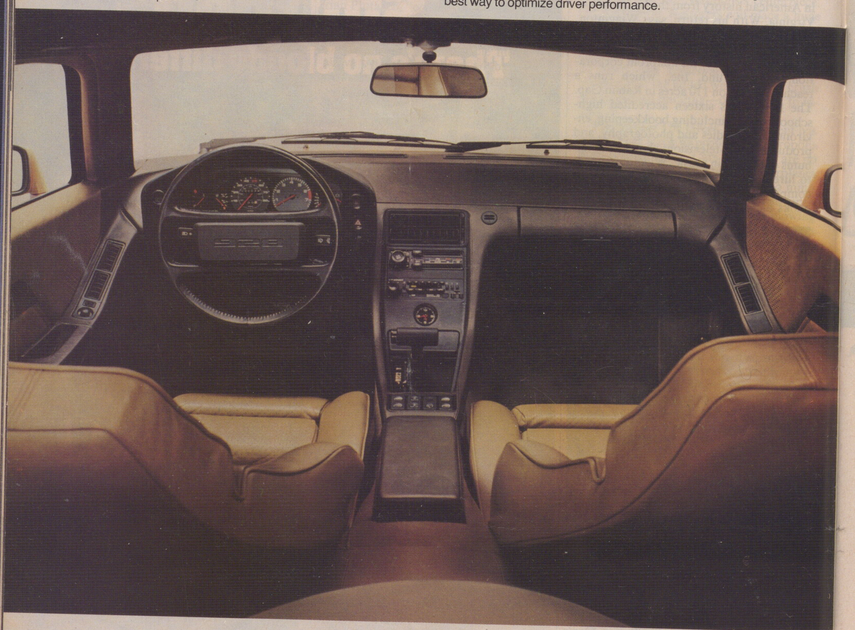

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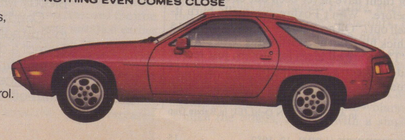


PERISCOPE

Grim News for Republicans

Leaders of both parties on Capitol Hill now privately forecast a Republican debacle next fall. In the House, Republicans are expected to lose between a dozen and 40 seats, while even the once safe Senate may slip back into Democratic hands. The economy gets much of the blame, but increasingly rancorous Republican infighting is faulted as well. Most visibly at issue last week: White House rejection of a campaign fund-raising letter drafted by Sen. Robert Packwood over the President's signature and packed with such self-aggrandizing phrases as "Bob Packwood and I decided" and "I've asked Bob." But, as if to underline the disorganization plaguing Republicans, the veto came too late. Two million of the letters are already in the mail.

The South African Computer Deal

With no public announcement, the Commerce Department last week approved South African purchase of a Cyber 750 computer from the Control Data Corp.—despite objections by critics alarmed that the sophisticated system might be used to advance a South African nuclear-weapons program. Pretoria has offered to let the United States perform on-site inspections, but this concession failed to mollify a bipartisan group of congressmen, including Howard Wolpe, Bill Gray, Paul Tsongas and Rudy Boschwitz, sponsors of legislation opposing such sales. There was internal debate within the Reagan Administration over the wisdom of the sale. Some even suggested the computer could be used to help the South Africans decipher U.S. intelligence cryptography. But in the end, sources say, the deal went through simply because no one in the Administration made a compelling enough case against it.

Passing the Plate

Eager to emulate the GOP's success with direct-mail fund raising, the Democrats have launched an aggressive campaign of their own. But the mailing lists clearly need editing. Recently fingered for contributions were Republican House Minority Leader Robert Michel and White House Congressional liaison Kenneth Duberstein—whose letter from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee implored him to help "keep your House Democratic."

Low Sinai Profile for the 82nd Airborne

According to American military sources in the Mideast, Egypt is attempting to place unusual strictures on units of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division that form the backbone of the Sinai's multinational peace-keeping force. The paratroopers have been asked to refrain from conducting any training maneuvers that might be interpreted as preparation for desert warfare—even routine practice jumps. Israeli officials believe that Cairo wants to minimize charges from radical Arabs that the paratroopers are in the Sinai to exert American influence.

Is That Pipeline Necessary?

To bolster the U.S. effort to block construction of the Soviet-Western European natural-gas pipeline, a new Pentagon study contends that ample reserves under the North Sea make the Siberian link unnecessary. These rich Norwegian, British and Dutch reserves, argues the Pentagon, had not been carefully analyzed at the time of the original Soviet deal. They could almost double production to 11.8 trillion cubic feet of natural gas by 1990, create thousands of new jobs and enable Europe to cut back on 1.2 million barrels per day of OPEC oil imports. But the chance of a turnaround is dim. France and West Germany are so heavily committed to the pipeline politically that the most Pentagon officials can hope for is that the project will be scaled down, not abandoned.

Redrawing Nancy's Image

Nancy Reagan's triumph at the Gridiron dinner (page 55) set the seal on a new image that is both more relaxed and more serious. Staffers have worked for a year to tone down the First Lady's hauteur, publicize her genuine interest in fighting drug abuse—she will visit Phoenix Houses in Bonn and London during the President's European swing in June—and launch her in speaking engagements separate from her husband's. A halting, repetitious speech pattern was one problem solved when aides tapped Presidential speechwriter Landon Parvin to write some of her texts. Now Mrs. Reagan can calmly assert, as she did at a recent White House briefing, "This is not the age of innocence; it is the age of vicious drugs." Delight in her new success has also helped the First Lady view herself with more humor. Not long ago staffers passed her a clipping purporting to detail the Reagans' frisky sex life. Replied Nancy with a giggle: "Who's been sleeping under my bed?"

China Sends a Message

China's ambassador to the United States, overdue for replacement, may have stayed on to serve as a diplomatic weapon in the Chinese campaign against U.S. military aid to Taiwan. Ambassador Chai Zemin could be recalled, according to State Department sources, when President Reagan's military-aid package to Taiwan—which the Chinese bitterly oppose—is submitted to Congress later this month. The intensity of Peking's displeasure can be calculated by the number of months it takes the Chinese to name Chai's replacement—if they ever do.

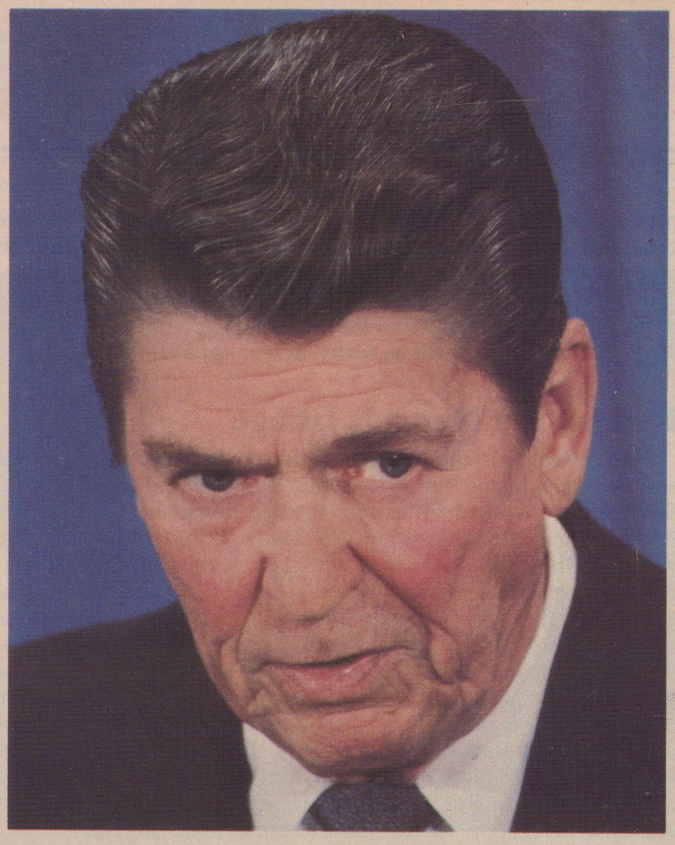
Strauss Heads the Brady Fund

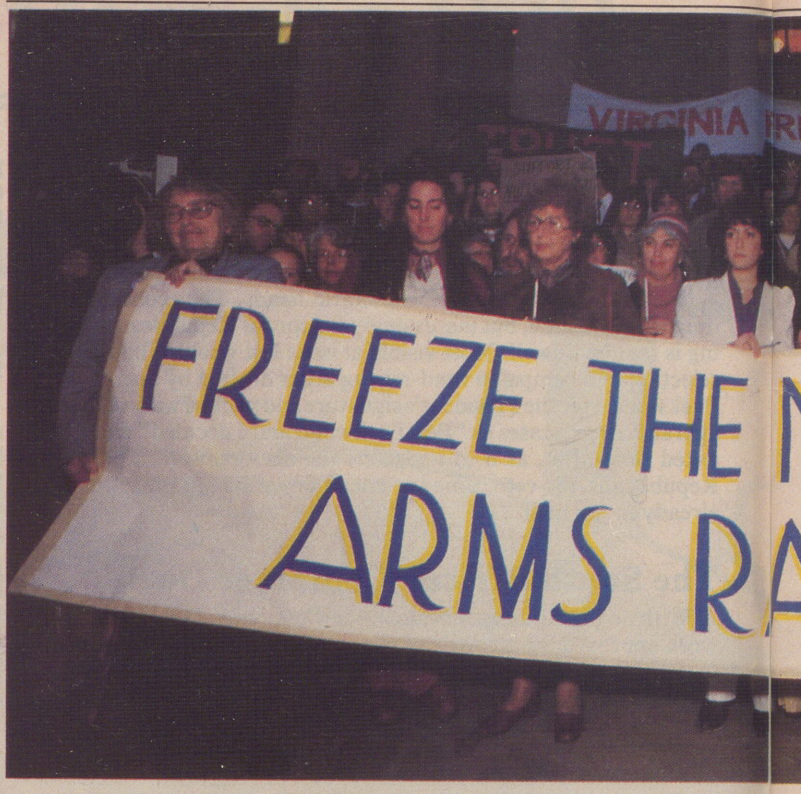
The James Brady trust fund can count on bipartisan support. The White House has tapped Democratic kingpin Robert Strauss to co-chair the drive to raise funds for the White House press secretary, wounded in last year's assassination attempt. Sharing the job with the Republican National Committee's former finance chairman, Joe M. Rodgers, the gregarious Strauss is renowned for his skill in loosening purse strings. After months on the drawing board, the drive finally was launched last week when Congress passed special legislation to exempt Brady from a Federal law prohibiting government employees from receiving outside income. Still convalescent, Brady remains on the White House payroll.

U.S. Pique With Mexico

Instead of continuing to use Mexico as a go-between with Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration has decided to negotiate directly. Top State Department officials are angry at what they view as grandstanding by Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda—who has been quick to grab publicity for his role as mediator. Washington's first direct initiatives go on the table later this month. The new set of U.S. proposals will include such recommendations as international supervision of borders, ports and airports.

ELIZABETH PEER with bureau reports





Chain reaction: On the eve of the President's prime-time pitch for arms control, a demonstration at the Capitol dramatizes the grass-roots push

Reagan Against the Freeze

The pressure was building from all sides. As religious leaders, congressmen and laymen at home and abroad joined the grass-roots movement against nuclear arms, Ronald Reagan took his own case public. In his first evening press conference, covered live by network television, the President addressed the complex and emotional issue of arms control, inviting the Soviet Union to start talks to "substantially reduce nuclear weapons and make an important breakthrough for lasting peace on earth." But Reagan also repeated his opposition to a simple freeze by both sides of existing nuclear arsenals, saying it would be "disadvantageous—in fact, even dangerous" to the United States. In so doing, he became the first U.S. President to concede the Soviets "a definite margin of superiority," and that debatable assessment quickly raised a new controversy in the nation's increasingly vociferous debate over nuclear weapons.

Administration spokesmen tried to play down the President's claim, but it soon came under a challenge that magnified Reagan's increasingly defensive posture on questions of national security and nuclear strategy. Two key elements of the President's defense program—the MX missile and a stepped-up civil-defense effort—encountered sharp opposition on Capitol Hill last week as Congress, too, tried to grapple with the anti-nuke groundswell and Reagan's costly defense buildup. "The defense consensus of last year has been frittered away," said Democratic Rep. Les Aspin. "The consensus has been hurt by the Administration's casual talk about limited nuclear war [and] by a poor articulation of . . . strategy."

Some officials conceded that the Administration had so far failed to make a persuasive case against what they consider a too-hasty approach to arms control. "We haven't been skillful in our public relations," said one top staffer. "We're talking in jargon while the other side has been talking about emotions. We can't win." Indeed, it was largely to articulate his own position on strategic arms that Reagan decided to call his evening press conference after days of Q-and-A preparation with aides. Reagan was especially concerned with the propaganda advantage that ailing Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (page 30) might have gained in this country and abroad with his recent announcement of a unilateral freeze on deployment of intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM's) in Europe. "If he [Brezhnev] can build up enough steam . . . he could cause tremendous disorientation in our defense program," said one White House adviser. "This movement is very dangerous."

Opposing the national grass-roots movement, he declares that the Soviets have a distinct edge in the arms race.

Planned Expansion: To undercut the domestic freeze campaign, the President announced his support for an arms-control proposal introduced on the Hill by Democratic Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Republican Sen. John Warner of Virginia. Fifty-eight senators have endorsed the plan, which calls for "a long-term, mutual and verifiable nuclear forces freeze" by the United States and the Soviet Union, but only after those forces have been brought to "equal and sharply reduced levels." The President could then bargain from strength, as he sees it, having expanded the U.S. nuclear arsenal to include the MX, the B-1 and Stealth strategic bombers and the Pershing II IRBM's and cruise missiles to be deployed in Europe. "This is

Photos by John Ficara—NEWSWEEK

for simpler solutions

an important move in the right direction," Reagan said. "I want an agreement on strategic nuclear weapons that reduces the risk of war, lowers the level of armaments and enhances global security."

At one point, the President seemed to side with those who have criticized some Administration officials' emphasis on the ability to fight and win a nuclear war. "I just have to say that I don't think there would be any winners—everybody would be a loser if there's a nuclear war," Reagan said in answer to a question. But, answering another question, he also underscored his belief in a U.S. "window of vulnerability." "The Soviets' great edge is one in which they could absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again," said Reagan, implying that this situation must be remedied before any freeze.

Even some supporters of Reagan's defense buildup thought his analysis of Soviet strength impolitic and inaccurate (page 20). "We are not inferior in terms of our ability to deter a nuclear war," said the defense-minded Senator Jackson. Until now, presidents have talked about nuclear "sufficiency" (Richard Nixon), "rough parity" (Gerald Ford) and "essential equivalence" (Jimmy Carter). "The basic point here is that nobody knows what would happen if these weapons were used," said former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger. "One of the elements that has always maintained deterrence is uncertainty. To say unequivocally that we may be inferior reduces uncertainty [and] is alarming to our allies." And Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, a sponsor of the nuclear freeze, said that even in the event of a Soviet first strike that destroyed most land-based U.S. strategic missiles, at least 3,000 nuclear warheads (mostly aboard submarines) would be available for retaliation—"enough to make the Soviet rubble bounce from Moscow to Vladivostok."

Kennedy and freeze co-sponsor Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, also were prominent among those who denounced the Reagan-Jackson-Warner approach to strategic disarmament—building up the U.S. arsenal in order ultimately to negotiate reductions on both sides. "This is voodoo arms control, which says that you must have more in order to have less," Kennedy said at a crowded press conference on the Hill. "If the United States delays arms-control negotiations until we achieve superiority over the Soviet Union, we can expect the Soviet Union also to seek superiority," declared the Council for a Livable World, a Boston-based group that has coordinated much of the current grass-roots activity in behalf of arms control. And a group of 35 world religious leaders—including the Dalai Lama, the secretary general of the World Muslim Congress and the president of the National Council of Churches—called on all nations to "freeze and reverse the arms race as a first and crucial step toward disarmament," thereby freeing "$500 billion annually [to] feed, clothe, house and heal the world's people."

'Madness': The mounting pressure for a nuclear freeze—or some other dramatic arms-control initiative—has clearly had its effect on Congress. Besides the Kennedy-Hatfield and Jackson-Warner proposals, there is the plan by Democratic Rep. Albert Gore for a "modified freeze" (after steps to reduce the vulnerability of U.S. land-based ICBM's) and Democratic Sen. Gary Hart's call for strategic talks on prevention (STOP) of accidental atomic war and the spread of nuclear weapons to radical states and terrorist groups. Even GOP Senate hawk John Tower of Texas allowed as how the nation was strong enough to enter arms talks. In an unprecedented and emotional House debate last week, 30 speakers held forth on the arms race. "What's happened to us? What is the cause of this madness?" asked House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, who approved the showing of an anti-nuke educational film titled "The Last Epidemic" on the House television system. "We can go on like lemmings, producing instruments of mass destruction until someday they destroy us," said Republican Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa. "Or we can begin to pull back from the brink of mass suicide."

Congressional concern over the President's deficit-ridden budget proposal also seemed likely to have an impact on the ultimate shape of U.S. nuclear strategy. The Senate Armed Services Committee, under the direction of Texas conservative John Tower, last week voted to remove $2.1 billion for production of the powerful new MX missile—designed in part to close the "win-

'Voodoo arms control': Hatfield and Kennedy (left) charged that Jackson and Warner would escalate the nuclear competition

Larry Downing—NEWSWEEK

John Ficara—NEWSWEEK

dow of vulnerability"—until the Administration can develop an acceptable plan for basing it. Since basing plans are so hotly disputed, most experts agree that approval of the MX is all but impossible.

The committee also held out little hope for the President's seven-year, $4.2 billion plan to upgrade the nation's civil-defense capability. It cut the requested budget increase for fiscal 1983 from $252 million to just $144 million. That decision came after two top Pentagon officials, testifying for the program before another Senate panel, conceded that their plan for massive population shifts could not significantly reduce the consequences of an all-out nuclear war. Deputy Under Secretary of Defense T. K. Jones, whose testimony had been sought for weeks, was questioned repeatedly about his earlier controversial assertions that nuclear war was survivable "if there are enough shovels to go around."

What shape the debate over nuclear strategy takes in the months ahead is unclear. Senator Hart predicts that the middle-class and upper-middle-class base of the nuclear-freeze movement will eventually broaden, with more emphasis placed on the use of money saved for education and social programs. Others believe that the emotional appeal of a simple freeze will be rechanneled into support for more conventional and calibrated arms control. Meanwhile, most politicians, including the President, are seeking the shelter of one arms-control plan or another until they get a better idea of what the worried American public, in a Congressional election year, really thinks about the "unthinkable" problem of nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

DAVID M. ALPERN with JOHN J. LINDSAY, MARY LORD, ELEANOR CLIFT and THOMAS M. DeFRANK in Washington

Who's Really Ahead?

Is the Soviet Union winning the nuclear arms race?

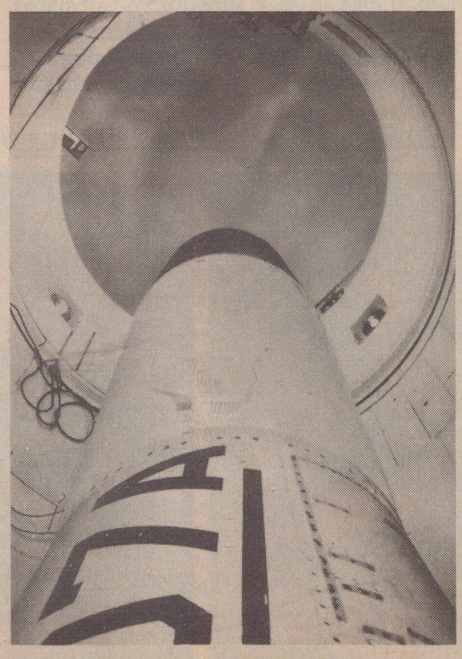
Despite Ronald Reagan's declaration of American inferiority, there is no simple answer. Currently, the Soviet Union has a clear lead in the nuclear firepower of its land-based missiles; its 1,398 intercontinental ballistic missiles carry 5,540 warheads, compared to 1,052 U.S. ICBM's with 2,152 warheads. But the United States has more than twice as many bombers, capable of dropping nearly ten times as many nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union. And while the Soviet submarine fleet outnumbers U.S. nuclear subs, the U.S. fleet carries more than twice as many nuclear warheads. Such numerical comparisons are almost meaningless, however, in the face of other variables such as timing and strategy.

What U.S. strategists fear most is a first strike by Soviet ICBM's. Last week Ronald Reagan warned that the Soviets' "great edge" is their ability, following such an attack, to "absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again." This is the so-called "window of vulnerability" some experts discovered in the late 1970s when they estimated that the growing accuracy of Soviet ICBM's would enable them to destroy as much as 95 percent of U.S. ICBM's in their silos. Some experts doubt that the Soviet ICBM's are that accurate. But even under optimal conditions, a Soviet first strike against U.S. ICBM's would leave three-fourths of the nation's nuclear warheads still intact aboard Strategic Air Command bombers and submarines.

Flexibility: The wider dispersion of the U.S. nuclear arsenal in the air- and sea-based legs of the "triad"—70 percent of the Soviets' nuclear might is land based—gives the United States far greater flexibility to retaliate. To stage a truly effective first strike, the Soviets would use sub-launched missiles (SLBM's) to attack U.S. SAC bases at the same time that they assaulted American ICBM's. Those U.S. bombers that were able to escape would still be vulnerable to Soviet air defenses, at least until the new radar-evading Stealth bomber is developed in the 1990s or existing bombers are equipped with cruise missiles.

Even with U.S. bombers crippled, the sea-based leg of the U.S. nuclear triad would still be virtually invulnerable. About half the U.S. submarine fleet is at sea at any given time, and each Poseidon sub carries enough nuclear warheads to destroy every medium-size city in the Soviet Union. But cities are about all they can destroy: U.S. SLBM's are not accurate enough to knock out Soviet ICBM silos or smaller military targets. Consequently, after a Soviet first strike, the President of the United States would be faced with a grim choice between surrendering or attacking Soviet population centers, a move that would no doubt trigger a Soviet retaliation against U.S. cities.

American ICBM in silo: No simple answers



'Use 'em or Lose 'em': In reality, the President and the Soviet leader would have little time to ponder such moral nightmares. U.S. satellites would spot the jet plumes of the Soviet ICBM's leaving their silos and alert Washington about 30 minutes before impact, giving SAC bombers time to scramble. Soviet subs would be far closer to their targets, so if the Soviet SLBM's were launched simultaneously with the ICBM's, SAC bases would be destroyed first, probably prompting the U.S. President to launch ICBM's in a desperate "use 'em or lose 'em" gamble. If the Soviet SLBM's were timed to *land* simultaneously, the earlier departure of the ICBM's would still provide some warning. A minimum of 100 U.S. bombers might escape—and their total payload of 2,000 air-launched cruise missiles, the first of which will come on line later this year, could wipe out every remaining Soviet ICBM silo. But the Soviets, too, would have ample warning; it would be ten hours before U.S. B-52s reached their marks. The Soviet leader—in his last act—would probably fire his remaining ICBM's at American cities, since most U.S. military targets already would have been destroyed.

The prospect of this city-for-city, Johnny-for-Ivan exchange, known as MAD, for "Mutual Assured Destruction," was what theoretically kept U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces in balance throughout the past decade. As the Soviets improved their ICBM's, Jimmy Carter, in 1980, signed Presidential Directive 59, ordering the Pentagon to develop more flexible responses to stave off the surrender-or-suicide option. In fact, surgical strikes against Soviet military installations have been a part of the U.S. nuclear strategy for years, and now both sides have the hardware, if not the technical know-how, to destroy both military targets and population centers. With their ICBM superiority, the Soviets may indeed have a slight edge in the first few hours of a "limited" nuclear war. But most strategists doubt that a nuclear war would stay limited for long, and the bitter debate over who is ahead would quickly become academic in an all-out exchange.

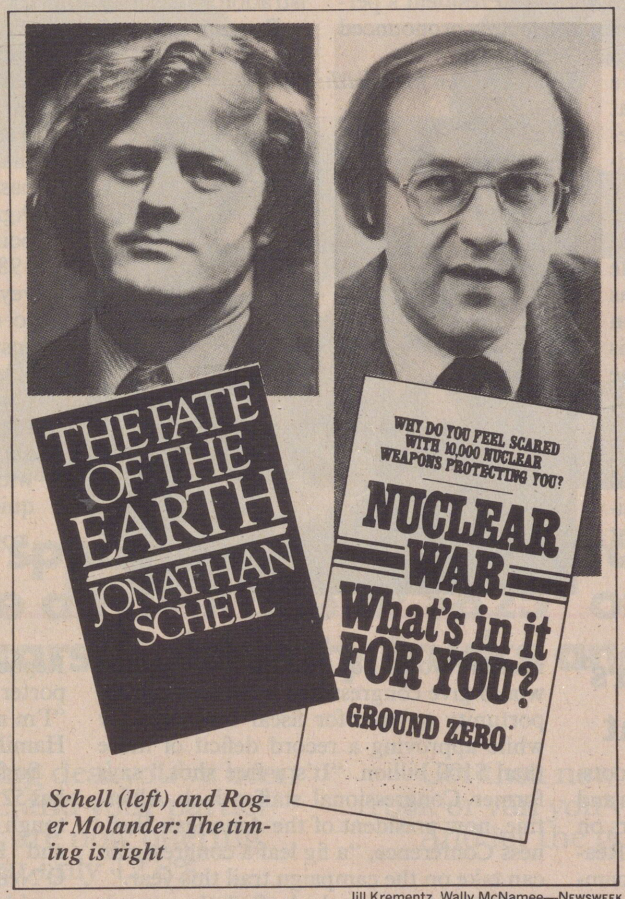
MELINDA BECK with DAVID C. MARTIN and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington

The Nuclear Book Boom

As the clamor against nuclear weapons continues to rise, even the quiet corridors of the publishing industry echo with rumors of war. This month alone at least eight books dealing with the threat of nuclear holocaust will roll off the presses, among them Jonathan Schell's much-heralded "The Fate of the Earth." By the end of the first six months of this year, nearly two dozen new publications on the subject will be in print, bearing such titles as "The Final Epidemic" and "Survive the Coming Nuclear War: How to Do It."

Publishers clearly expect a brisk business: Alfred A. Knopf has upped its print order for the Schell book from 35,000 to 75,000 copies, and Pocket Books has gone back to press for another printing of "Nuclear War: What's in It for You?" by Ground Zero organizers Roger and Earl Molander, bringing the total number of copies for sale to about 225,000. Defense experts may complain, in the words of an analyst at a leading West Coast think tank, that "these books are show business . . . a national sensation and a profitable one." But no one can deny that the timing is right.

Buildup: Of all the new books, the biggest advance buildup has gone to "The Fate of the Earth." When it originally appeared as a three-part series in The New Yorker last February, it touched off a celebration among anti-nuclear activists, who immediately began photocopying it and distributing it among prospective converts. Robert Gottlieb, the editor-in-chief at Knopf, was similarly affected: "I immediately wanted the whole world to read it." After being rushed through production in one-third the normal time, "The Fate of the Earth" will be in stock at a price of $11.95 in some bookstores this week, well ahead of the publication date of April 26.


THE FATE OF THE EARTH
JONATHAN SCHELL
WHY DO YOU FEEL SCARED WITH 10,000 NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROTECTING YOU?
NUCLEAR WAR
What's in it FOR YOU?
GROUND ZERO

Schell (left) and Roger Molander: The timing is right

Jill Krementz, Wally McNamee—NEWSWEEK

How readers will react is an open question. Schell's work is a jeremiad. In the long first chapter, he heaps detail upon harrowing detail about the probable effects of a full-scale Soviet attack on the military and industrial facilities and population centers of the United States. In the second, having ventured the guess that the ultimate effect of a nuclear exchange between the superpowers would be the extinction of the human species, he examines the moral and philosophical implications of that possibility. In the third, he discusses the doctrine of deterrence and concludes that there is no safety without complete world disarmament and the withering away of sovereign nations in favor of world government.

It makes for difficult, often depressing, reading. The first section, with its patient accumulation of particulars, is powerful: the crushing shock waves and flesh-charring heat, the fire storms that follow, the silent radiation and the futility of seeking shelter. Then there are the long-term effects—the possible degradation of the earth's ozone layer, leaving people and animals vulnerable to the sun's ultraviolet rays, and the "ecological collapse" in estuaries that could eventually harm life in the oceans. In the long run, Schell warns, so much life might die off that America would be "a republic of insects and grass."

Throughout the recitation, Schell is careful to emphasize how little is known about the effects of full-scale nuclear attacks. Our experience is limited to Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the bombs used there would be considered tactical weapons today—and to subsequent tests over remote areas like Pacific atolls. Still, he says, all the catastrophes he conjures up are within the realm of possibility, and while "scientifically speaking, there is all the difference in the world between the mere possibility that a holocaust will bring about extinction and the certainty of it, morally they are the same." Therefore, he argues, we must think about nuclear war as though extinction were the inevitable outcome.

Here Schell wades into murkier water, and some readers may not follow him. His arguments are, however, provocative: extinction would nullify any claim that in nuclear war the end might justify the means, by destroying any conceivable goal. Worse, it would mean not only the end of all existing human life but also the "cancellation" of all future life. We hold a gun at the heads of our own children, he says, and we undermine the sense of continuity from one generation to another without which life loses meaning. His underlying idea is that nuclear strategy is usually seen as a technical military problem when in fact it is a moral and political one.

Predictably, much of the early reaction from experts has been hostile. They say that "The Fate of the Earth" is repetitious—which is true—and moralistic. Many object to the "speculative" nature of the section on the effects of nuclear war. Peter Sharfman of the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment complains that Schell relied heavily on a 1975 study by the National Academy of Sciences—but did not bother to mention that the Academy reached the conclusion that humankind would survive. Even Schell's admirers fault him on this point. "I always think exaggeration weakens one's case," says biologist Salvador Luria of MIT. "The case is already very urgent." And a few anti-nuclear activists worry that the book has limited value for a grass-roots movement. "Schell's articles are for the sophisticated New Yorker crowd," says George Kistiakowsky, a onetime White House science adviser.

Breezy: The educational role in the grass-roots movement is more likely to fall to the Ground Zero primer, "Nuclear War: What's in It for You?" Written in a breezy style in keeping with the tone of the title, it's an accessible book, providing the reader with the basic information needed to think and talk intelligently about nuclear war. There are discussions of the mechanics of the bomb, the history of the arms race, strategic theories and the problem of proliferation. One section even offers "easy-to-use scenarios for killing 500 million people." Co-author Roger Molander himself immodestly suggests: "It's the book that everyone should read before they tackle Jonathan Schell's book."

Still, Schell's book may well be the one people remember in years to come. It has powerful engines of publicity behind it—the Book-of-the-Month Club not only made it a special selection but also is offering it to members at cost in an attempt to boost readership. And Schell has the final argument against those who criticize his speculations: "We do not have two earths, one to blow up experimentally and the other to live on." The only experiment that will prove him wrong is one we can't afford.

PETER McGRATH with bureau reports

Facts and Figures

Plagued by complaints about his use of the facts and beset by rising criticism of the fairness of his domestic policies, Ronald Reagan met the press on prime-time television last week to deliver a well-briefed defense of his Administration's cuts in Federal spending for the poor. He hoped, he said, to "expose . . . the fairy tale" that he was cutting over-all Federal spending and insisted that he is "not gutting the programs for the needy." He pointed out that he is increasing aid for the elderly poor and for the blind, and he chided his critics for "jumping at a figure in some particular program" and failing to look at the whole. "Where we have tried to get a handle on these programs is where people who don't have a legitimate reason or right to be beneficiaries should be removed from the rolls," he said.

White House aides were delighted with the President's performance, and the next day—after Reagan's doctors pronounced him cured of a urinary-tract inflammation—Administration spirits were high. But critics quickly deflated that mood. They pointed out that in defending his Administration's spending policies the President had simply glossed over some of the more painful details of its budget cuts. The broadest objection was that, in stressing the upward trend of the Federal budget as a whole, Reagan failed to mention that spending on aid to the poor is actually headed down. All told, the budget for Medicaid, food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and other such programs will decline by $1.3 billion in fiscal year 1983, a Congressional study indicates. And there was little doubt that President Reagan, well briefed or not, had somehow misstated the particulars of other programs.

The President observed, for example, that the Agriculture Department's supplemental food program that provides nutritional aid to pregnant women infants and children (WIC), will be merged into block grants for maternal and child health. But Reagan was wrong when he said WIC would now receive "much greater money than it has ever had before." In fact, the budget for expanded block grants will be about 25 percent lower than WIC and the block grants received as separate programs.

Unemployment: Reagan similarly misspoke himself on unemployment compensation. "We have in some of the hardest-hit states extended the unemployment insurance," he said. But budget cuts approved in 1981 actually reduced unemployment benefits for an estimated 1.5 million jobless workers—and in Michigan, a state with epic unemployment, many of the jobless recently were denied benefits temporarily due to what an Administration spokesman termed a "quirk" in the law.

Reagan acknowledged that the Administration is cutting back the food-stamp program, explaining that 57 percent of the stores in a recent Federal investigation were "selling items for food stamps that are banned," such as toothpaste, soap and beer. The next day, Agriculture Department officials pointed out that the investigation, in 1981, had hardly been a random survey of the 240,000 stores from coast to coast that redeem food stamps. Instead, investigators checked 4,729 retailers who had already been reported lax in following food-stamp regulations—and of that number, about 2 percent of the total nationwide, only 1,754 were found to require administrative action.

Thumbs up on his health: But statistical loose talk

Rich Lipski—UPI

TOM MORGANTHAU with RICH THOMAS in Washington

The Budget Balancers' Meat-ax Amendment

The movement began in the grass roots, picked up steam in the state legislatures and has already drawn a flock of supporters on Capitol Hill. Last week even President Reagan gave a mild endorsement to the campaign for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced Federal budget. So far 31 legislatures have called for the measure, and if three more do the same Congress would either have to draft an amendment for formal ratification by the states or call the first constitutional convention since 1787.

The juggernaut started in 1975 when five state legislatures, by coincidence, passed "memorials" calling for a balanced budget. The National Taxpayers Union quickly adopted the cause, and by 1979 had helped push similar resolutions through 25 more state legislatures. The movement stalled until this year, when Alaska endorsed it. In nine more states, it has already passed one house of the legislature.

Congress could pass its own balanced-budget amendment for ratification by the states—and it may well do so. Since the measure would not take effect this year, it would give congressmen a face-saving opportunity to vote for fiscal responsibility while approving a record deficit of more than $100 billion. "It's a free shot," says former Congressional staffer Jack Albertine, now president of the American Business Conference, "a fig leaf a congressman can take on the campaign trail this year."

Magic: As currently drafted, the amendment would not actually require a balanced budget; the government could continue spending more than it takes in—providing three-fifths of the House and Senate approve, or in time of war. Nevertheless, opponents think it would set a dangerous precedent for constitutional tampering and lead to budgetary chaos: estimates of expenditures and revenues are notoriously inexact. Congress cannot balance the budget now, says House Judiciary Committee chairman Peter Rodino. "What kind of magic is this?"

Still, Congress may well go along and send a proposed amendment to the states—if only to head off a constitutional convention. Many lawmakers fear that such a gathering would encourage special-interest groups to press for other amendments on more nettlesome social issues. Says House Republican Barber Conable, a leading supporter of the balanced-budget movement, "I'm not sure there are a lot of Madisons, Hamiltons and Franklins out there."

So far, the balanced-budget amendment has 52 co-sponsors in the Senate, but it faces tough sledding in the House, where Rodino and House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill oppose it. Rodino's committee could try to squelch it, but Conable is circulating a petition that would bring the matter to the House floor where, he believes, many congressmen would welcome it. "Strategically," he says, "it's a lot easier to vote for a short-term deficit if you're willing to vote for long-term discipline."

Reagan's partial endorsement—he supports the concept, he said, but wants to make sure Congress doesn't simply raise taxes to make up the difference—should lend the movement even more momentum. Supporters expect the President formally to back the bill in the coming weeks. Ironically, Reagan's proposed budget has already given the biggest boost to the bill, which would allow Congress to vote for the largest deficit in history—while at the same time promising never to do it again.

MELINDA BECK with Washington bureau reports

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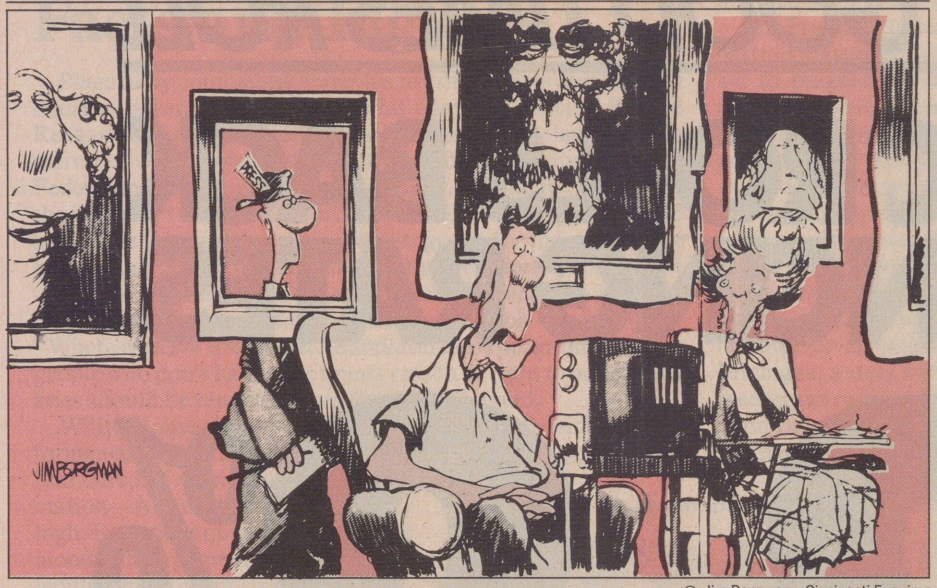

© Jim Borgman—Cincinnati Enquirer

'Honestly, Nancy, these leaks have me baffled'

Keeping the Nation's Secrets

Richard Nixon had his "plumbers" to plug government leaks—and now, so the joke goes, Ronald Reagan has turned to "electricians." But despite a public obsession with leaks and the use of lie-detector tests to unmask offenders, the Reagan Administration has had no more success than its predecessors in keeping secrets. Last week, on the verge of enacting a bill to make disclosing the name of an American intelligence operative a crime, it was forced to request the resignation of William H. Kennedy, the Reagan-appointed U.S. Attorney in San Diego, when he revealed a key CIA intelligence source in Mexico to a San Diego newspaper. And meanwhile, the Administration has been pursuing a new and disturbing tactic—trying to regain, occasionally through intimidation, secrets that are already legally in the public domain.

Stephen Green, 41, a former United Nations Disaster Relief Office employee, for example, had obtained 30-year-old declassified documents from the National Archives and Records Service for a book on U.S.-Israeli relations, but needed additional information on a disclosure that Israel had blown up a plane assigned to a U.S. military attaché after it had photographed Israeli military installations. When he asked for the additional material, Green was requested to return the original 47 pages for a review. "I assure you that our review of these pages will be swiftly completed, and the reproductions will be immediately returned," Edwin Thompson, director of the Archives' declassification system, wrote Green. One month after Green returned the documents, the materials were sent back to him—minus eleven pages and numerous excised passages of now "classified" material cut out by the Air Force. One scissored passage, revealing the benefits of language training, now read: "There has been no return [cut out] brought on by my study of Hebrew."

The approach to James Bamford, who is writing a book on the National Security Agency, was less duplicitous. In 1979 Bamford obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) sanitized versions of two top-secret reports on U.S. electronic eavesdropping operations. More than two years later Bamford was informed that the reports weren't sanitized enough. "You are currently in possession of classified information that requires protection against unauthorized disclosure," a Department of Justice attorney wrote him. "It is . . . your duty and obligation as a United States citizen to return this information." Since that request was made, the only apparent sensitive disclosure—that the British had assisted U.S. intelligence in intercepting overseas cables sent by American antiwar and civil-rights activists—has been published in several newspapers. But the Reagan Administration appears intent on using the Bamford case to support its attempt to exempt intelligence agencies from the FOIA.

New Order: Last week the President moved to codify this new policy. He issued an Executive order that makes it harder for the public to get information declassified and reverses a Jimmy Carter policy that did not permit the government to reclassify information that had been properly declassified. The Reagan order permits the government to pursue secrets that can be "reasonably recovered," but doesn't define "reasonable." Critics say that it is absurd to try to keep a secret once it has been let out, and that the new policy puts the burden of keeping secrets on authors and journalists, not government officials.

Taken with the other White House secrecy initiatives, the order seems likely to solidify the Administration's hard line on classification. Ralph McGehee, a retired CIA officer writing a book on the agency, can attest to that approach. He first submitted his manuscript to the CIA for a security review in February 1980. But last year, when he submitted a revised chapter, McGehee was ordered to delete passages that had previously been approved. When he asked why the information had been reclassified, he was told that previously "mistakes" had been made. On appeal, Deputy CIA Director Bobby Inman reinstated all but five sentences. But with the new Executive order, Inman could have ruled against McGehee.

For years the government has been lax to the point of incompetence in keeping secrets. Few U.S. intelligence losses, for example, have rivaled the one that stemmed from the government personnel's botched handling of top-secret papers before the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Iran. And for years, the identity of American agents was available to any trained eye perusing career patterns and job designations in two publications—the Foreign Service List and The Biographic Register. While those documents are now classified, a generation of agents was exposed because, for example, CIA personnel assigned to embassies were lumped with the "Foreign Service reserve." Now the Reagan Administration plans to make up for that incompetence by trying to get that information back from the public.

MARK STARR with DAVID C. MARTIN in Washington

Washington: Home Sweet Home?

Is Washington, D.C., Sen. Ted Stevens's home? Only if home is where the hate is. Stevens, the Alaska Republican and Senate whip, erupted during a floor debate last week when it was suggested that Washington could be considered every senator's true home. "God forbid that anyone will ever tell me that the city of Washington is my home," exclaimed Stevens, who has lived there, off and on, for 30 years. "I detest it. I really do. I cannot think of another place to have a nation's capital in the world that is a worse place to live."

Two days later, in an editorial entitled "Ted Stevens in Hardship City," The Washington Post commiserated with the poor senator, forced to put up with subsidized restaurants, free parking, gym, swimming pool, family allowances of a mere $60,000 or so and a lower cost of living than Alaska's. "Frankly," said the paper, "it's a wonder the senator can stand it all." Oddly enough, Stevens has shown no interest in giving up his job to escape Washington, but he has threatened to sponsor a resolution that would move the nation's capital instead.

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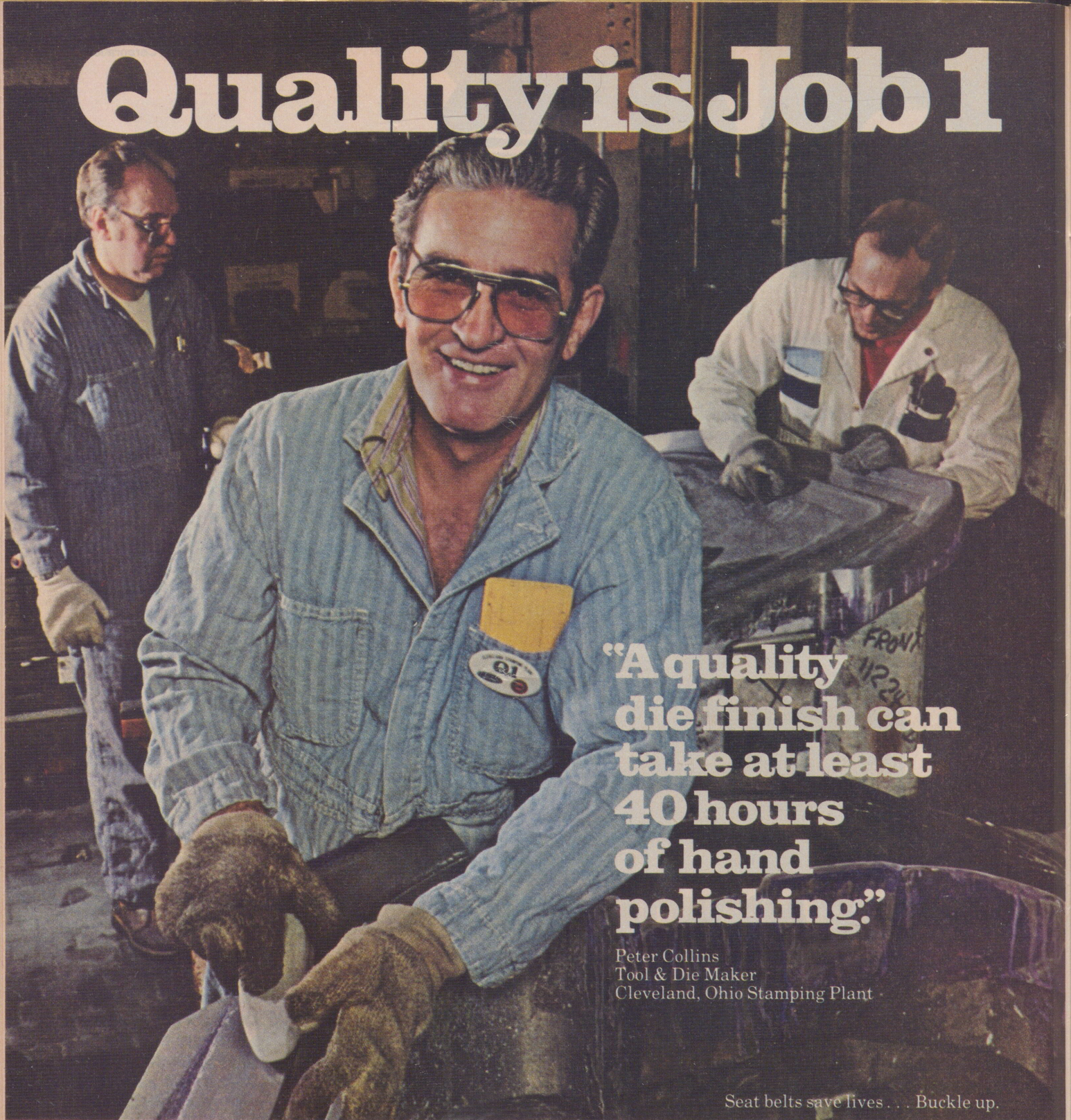
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Photos by Herman J. Kokojan—Black Star

Desert war games: Cries of 'Streamer!' and charges that the jump should have been scrubbed

Gallant Eagle: Deadly Drop

They arrived at 6:07 a.m., on time to the millisecond. Thirty-two high-winged Air Force C-141 StarLifter jets screamed out of the morning sun, flanking a lunarlike peak protruding from California's Mojave Desert. They came in just 800 feet off the ground, throttled back to a bare-minimum 135 knots, dropping 800 paratroopers toward landing zones designated "Gold" and "Silver." But then something went wrong. "Streamer!" shouted an observer as a soldier plummeted to earth, his unopened parachute trailing uselessly behind him. By the time the 2,300-paratrooper drop was over, the casualty count had reached 156 and five soldiers were dead.

It was a chilling start to the eight-day field-maneuver phase of Gallant Eagle '82—a $45-million, 40,000-troop war exercise designed to show off the fledgling U.S. Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force. The war games have a dual mission: to test and train force commanders in desert terrain similar to that of the Middle East—and to warn the Soviet Union that the United States is ready to respond to any aggression in the strategic Persian Gulf region.

The big airdrop, one of the largest since World War II, simulated arrival in a desert country, far from an airstrip, at the invitation of a host government. Under the rules of the games, the troops had one day to dig in before being attacked by superior armored forces. But shortly after the jump, red smoke grenades were popping on the sagebrush- and daisy-covered desert, signaling the Medevac helicopters for pickups. Two men died because their chutes failed to open properly. A third was killed when he landed on heavy equipment that had preceded him down. A fourth died after he was dragged by his billowing chute over the hard sand and the fifth from multiple injuries sustained during the jump.

According to some critics, the jump should have been canceled because of dangerous winds. Rank-and-file troopers complained that the planes bounced around so much during the last hour of the flight that many of the jumpers used air-sickness bags and that the planes were swaying badly at the time of the jump. Some told how they had no control during descent; others said they were swept along the ground upon landing, causing some to be pulled completely out of their harnesses.

A Hazardous Duty: Task-force brass insisted every safety precaution had been taken and that the wind was below the permissible peacetime maximum of 13 knots (14.95 miles per hour). "Parachuting is inherently dangerous," said Lt. Gen. Robert C. Kingston, commander of the force, adding that paratroopers receive $55 a month in hazardous-duty pay precisely for that reason.

In the face of calls for a full-scale investigation of the incident, however, the war games went on. At the weekend, marines staged a "live fire" exercise, including use of artillery and napalm, at their vast Twentynine Palms Marine Corps Base in California. If Gallant Eagle '82 didn't exactly instill fear in the Russians or eradicate the memory of the failed American hostage rescue mission aborted in the Iranian desert, the Pentagon viewed the exercise as a giant step in the right direction. "Two years ago," General Kingston said, "we wouldn't have known what the force would do, how it would get there, how it would sustain itself and who would command it. Now we do."

MARK STARR with MARTIN KASINDORF
in the Mojave Desert

Medevac for the injured: 'Parachuting is inherently dangerous'

Raghu-Rai—Magnum

INTERNATIONAL

Brezhnev:

For months the approaching end has been written in his face: the drawn expression, the distant gaze, the eyes empty of the strength that has animated and driven the Soviet Union for the past eighteen years. Now it seems all but certain that the political career of Leonid Brezhnev is entering its final days. Moscow churned last week with rumors that Brezhnev was lying ill at home or in a hospital. The swirl of gossip and sightings ran to a mysterious plane flight from Tashkent, a canceled diplomatic visit and some rough jockeying in the Politburo. Beyond that, there was an unsettling silence—and no other sign of The Leader.

As was true in the twilight years of Joseph Stalin and Chairman Mao, the true state of Brezhnev's health was one of the world's best kept secrets. But NEWSWEEK has learned that a ten-page U.S. intelligence document reports that Brezhnev suffered a "very serious" stroke in Tashkent two weeks ago and is now in a Moscow hospital. The report concludes that even if Brezhnev survives his ordeal, he will be unable to hold on to power for long as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and President of the Soviet Union. The need to prepare for Brezhnev's succession, the report says, prompted party leaders to postpone a Central Committee meeting scheduled for last week until late May. The report also predicts that Brezhnev will resign his posts at the May meeting. There are already numerous signs that a shadowy battle for the succession has begun among a group of Polit-

Alain Mingam—Gamma-Liaison

: The Final Days

buro members who are still largely unknown in the West (page 33). "They are going to use the Central Committee to make the succession look like a democratic choice," said one U.S. official.

Other sources were a good deal more guarded. They said doctors were still not sure whether Brezhnev had actually suffered a mild stroke or a transient prestroke condition called "spasms of the cerebral vessels." They were hoping that the second, less serious, diagnosis was correct. If so, Brezhnev could reappear within a few weeks. "It is not a matter of life or death yet," said one Soviet insider, who suggested Brezhnev may be under treatment at his well-equipped sickroom at home rather than in the hospital.

'Desperate Situation': Even if Brezhnev does struggle back, it is hard to see how he can effectively run the Soviet Union for long. His decline leaves the country facing a disturbing period of instability. Brezhnev does not have a natural successor in waiting. The Soviets are overextended in Afghanistan and Poland and in lesser adventures in the troubled Third World. Compounding those uncertainties, a growing economic crisis now tugs at the Soviet Union and most of its Eastern European satellites. "They're in a more desperate situation than I had assumed," observed Ronald Reagan in his press conference last week. For a time a succession crisis could force Soviet leaders to focus their energies and attentions on the home front. But there were also worries that a Soviet Union weakened or off balance could well turn more aggressive.

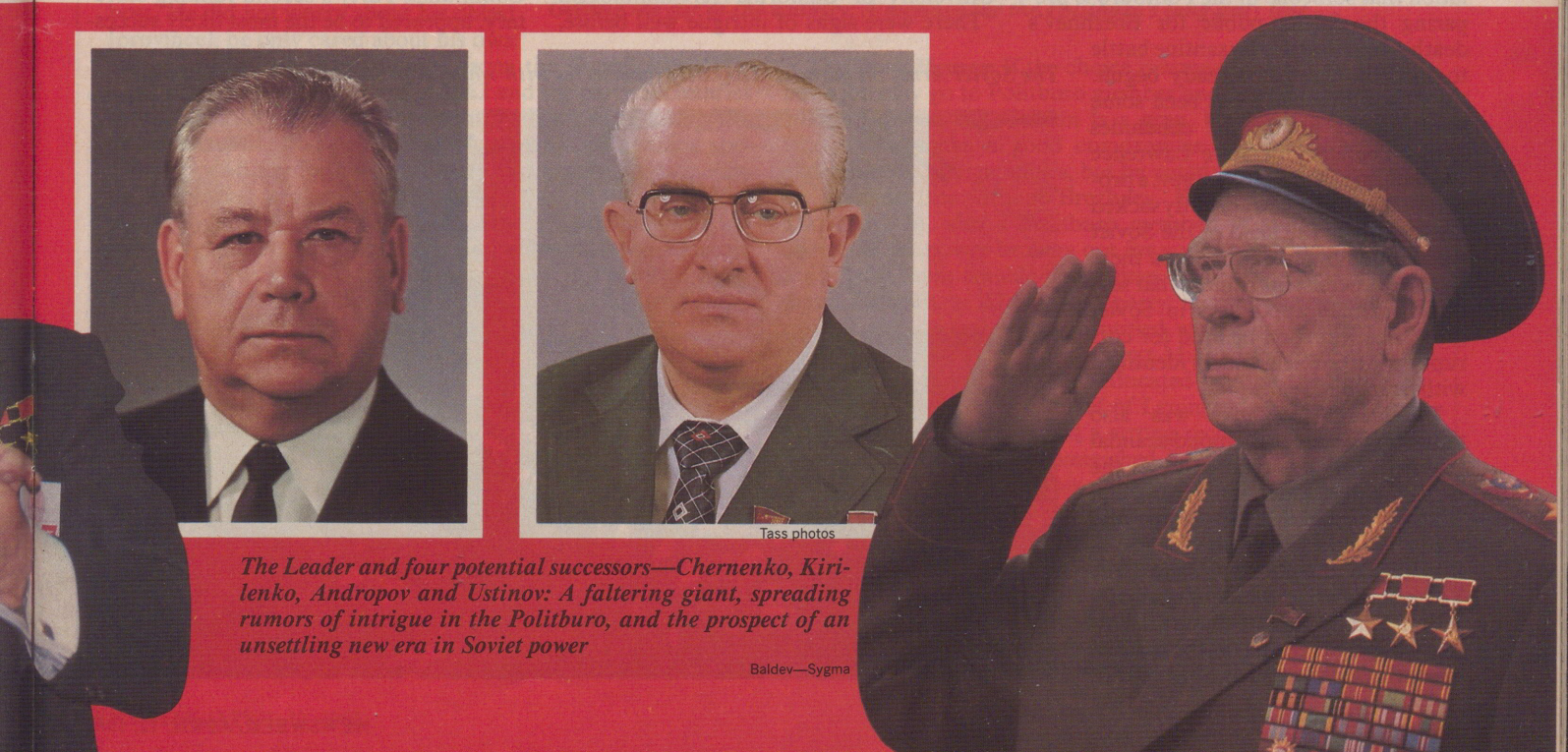
The rumors of Brezhnev's collapse began two weeks ago after the Soviet leader made a taxing four-day visit to Tashkent in Uzbekistan. When Soviet television and newspapers failed to carry the customary photographs of Brezhnev's return to Moscow, word spread quickly that he had been hospitalized. Suspicions deepened when a scheduled visit to the Kremlin by South Yemen's President Ali Nasir Muhammad was abruptly canceled. According to one report, Brezhnev had suffered a stroke at the airport in Tashkent; his aides had to lift him on to the plane and later carried him on a stretcher to a Moscow hospital. The unconfirmed report also said that Brezhnev's family had gathered around his hospital bed and that the atmosphere was "like a wake."

With his health faltering and his career drawing to an end, the Kremlin's power struggle begins.

Predictably, Soviet officials refused to comment on the reports. But Brezhnev's personal physician, Yevgeny Chazov, canceled a scheduled trip to England. On the night Brezhnev returned from Tashkent, two black ZIL limousines pulled up to a special hospital on Granovsky Street near the Kremlin, where Politburo members frequently go for treatment. (ZIL's are the official vehicles of Politburo members, and Brezhnev's is the only motorcade that includes two ZIL's.) Normally, traffic signs discreetly steer unauthorized cars away from Granovsky Street where some senior Moscow officials live, while a policeman patrols the corner. Last week a metal barrier blocked off the street. "Dangerous Zone," warned a sign—although there was no hazardous construction work in sight.

By all accounts, Brezhnev's health has been declining for years. There have been repeated unconfirmed reports that he receives injections for a nerve affliction in his jaw, requires blood transfusions for a mild form of leukemia and wears a pacemaker. He is also reported to have taken regular medication for a heart condition and has apparently had several heart spasms—the latest in February. At a trade-union congress shortly after the latest attack, Brezhnev repeatedly halted working sessions for unscheduled breaks—apparently so he could rest and get medical help. He was also reportedly looking frail and distracted when he met a Finnish delegation at the Kremlin last month. During a 90-minute talk with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, Brezhnev was able to focus on the discussion only for the first half hour.

Hearing Aid: In recent months signs of Brezhnev's deterioration have also shown up with startling frequency in public. When a group of Soviet leaders went to the Moscow Art Theater last month to see "Thus We Shall Triumph," a play about Lenin's twilight years, Brezhnev had problems with his hearing aid. Like many people with hearing problems, he reacted by speaking in an ab-



Tass photos

The Leader and four potential successors—Chernenko, Kirilenko, Andropov and Ustinov: A faltering giant, spreading rumors of intrigue in the Politburo, and the prospect of an unsettling new era in Soviet power

Baldev—Sygma

Tass

Soviet leaders at Mikhail Suslov's funeral in January: Some Byzantine maneuvers after the death of the Politburo's 'disciplinarian'

normally loud voice. "That's Lenin. That's Stalin," he said in a gravelly voice that could be heard throughout the theater. Politburo member Konstantin Chernenko motioned to Brezhnev to lower his voice. But Brezhnev ignored him and kept talking loudly. During the televised funeral of Mikhail Suslov, the chief Kremlin ideologist who died last January, Brezhnev looked feeble and tired. And at the recent funeral of Col. Gen. Konstantin Grushevoi, a longtime friend who was also 75, Brezhnev openly broke down and wept—as television cameras captured the moment of vulnerability.

In the past these demonstrations of Brezhnev's feebleness might never have slipped by the Kremlin's media censors; their sudden appearance has fueled speculation that someone in the Politburo is preparing the Soviet public for Brezhnev's death—and that the Byzantine battle to succeed him has already begun. "It's clear that there has been some hanky-panky going on," concludes Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. Aleksei Shibayev, a protégé of Brezhnev, was abruptly sacked last month as the head of the Soviet trade-union organization. And there have been persistent rumors that several Brezhnev appointees in Soviet ministries will soon be fired for corruption—a problem widely identified with Brezhnev's rule.

Infighting: Brezhnev was also tainted by a bizarre diamond scandal that brought the arrest of Boris the Gypsy, a performer for the Bolshoi Theater known for his flamboyant life-style—and a close friend of Brezhnev's daughter, Galina. The Voice of America, which is normally jammed inside Russia, found its Russian-language reports on the scandal going through loud and clear. "It's a power play," concluded one Western diplomat in Moscow. "But we just don't know the players and no one has contact with them."

The death of Suslov is widely believed to have acted as a catalyst in the succession. Suslov was the Politburo's "disciplinarian and keeper of the Marxist-Leninist Holy Grail," according to one U.S. expert. In 1964 Suslov played a key role in helping Brezhnev to oust Nikita Khrushchev; after that he kept the lid on Kremlin infighting during the Soviet leader's frequent illnesses. He also placed his authority behind Brezhnev's policy of maintaining political and social stability at any cost—including winking at corruption in the party ranks. "Suslov was against rocking the boat, he was a stand-patter," says George Breslauer, a University of California Kremlinologist. "There were signs of intrigue well before, but his death increased the momentum."

It is much less clear who has the best chance of replacing Brezhnev. "Every Politburo member has serious liabilities," says Dimitri Simes, a Johns Hopkins University specialist. "Some are too young, some are too old and some [are lacking] in terms of background. You cannot say that any one of these people is the perfect candidate." Brezhnev has surrounded himself with loyalists, ruled by consensus—and denied any other Politburo member a strong enough power base to topple him. "He was frightened that someone would do to him what he did to Khrushchev," says Jerry Hough, a Soviet expert at Duke University and the Brookings Institution.

Until recently, Andrei Kirilenko, the Communist Party's second-ranking secretary, appeared to be the most likely succes-

The Soviet Army on parade: 'They ally themselves with whoever promises them the best deal'

Tass from Sovfoto

Waiting in the Wings

Handicapping the race to succeed Leonid Brezhnev is a risky business. But Kremlinologists have compiled a short list of likely candidates. Their top choices:

The Political Crony: Konstantin Chernenko is a stocky apparatchik who has never run a factory, farm or region; he is poorly educated and a weak public speaker. What he *does* have going for him is robust health and personal ties to Brezhnev that stretch back three decades. Born in Siberia 70 years ago, he first served as Brezhnev's propaganda chief in Moldavia after World War II; as Brezhnev climbed the political ladder, Chernenko followed close behind. A year after Brezhnev ousted Nikita Khrushchev in 1964, he tapped Chernenko to head the Central Committee's general department, a dreary but powerful post that controls the routing of top Communist Party papers.

When Brezhnev's health began to fail in the 1970s, he kept Chernenko at his elbow. Chernenko served as a combined confidant and political valet, accompanying Brezhnev on trips and even keeping tabs on whether he was smoking more cigarettes per day than Kremlin doctors allowed; he was rewarded with a party secretaryship in 1976 and full Politburo membership in 1978. Chernenko is fond of quoting the thoughts of Lenin. Unhappily for Soviet reformers, his favored cure for the country's economic woes is greater "labor discipline."

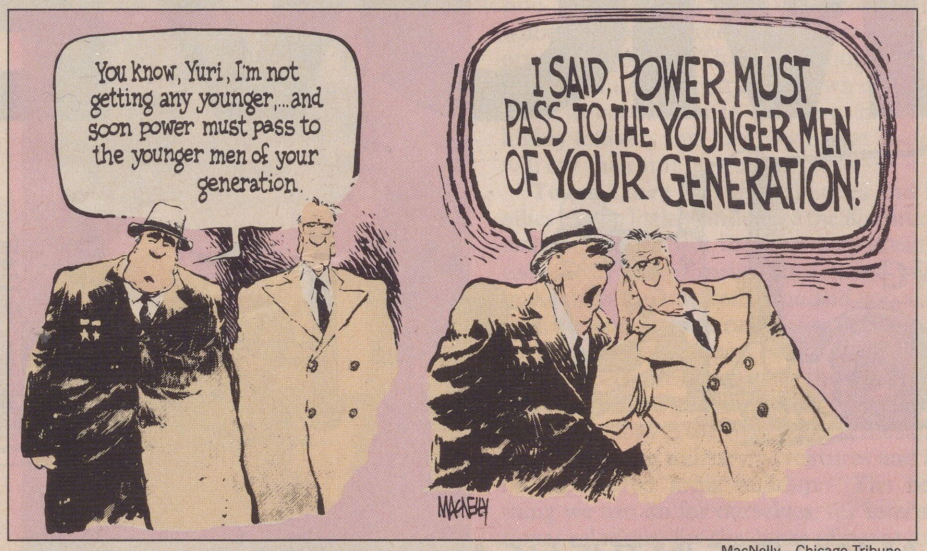
The Old Pro: He is neither very bright nor very likable; he may not be in good health. But if he is not as sick as many people believe, Andrei Kirilenko remains a contender. Three months older than Brezhnev, Kirilenko, 75, was born in Voronezh and trained as an aircraft engineer before turning to party work. He followed Brezhnev as first secretary of the Ukraine's Dnepropetrovsk Province in 1950, then moved on to Sverdlovsk. "He was the archetypal boss. He did not worry about his oblast [province]; he only cared about his own career," says one acquaintance from the Sverdlovsk days.

After joining the Politburo in 1962 and the party Secretariat in 1966, Kirilenko became the country's No. 2 man, taking the chair at meetings when Brezhnev was away. By winning special responsibility for heavy industry and party appointments, he established strong political bases in the military-industrial complex and in Communist ranks. But as a personality, Kirilenko is elusive. "I did not know any ambassador in Moscow who could claim he had had a good conversation with Kirilenko and thus gotten a fix on him," says Malcolm Toon, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Police Chief: By Politburo standards, Yuri Andropov is unusually well traveled, bright and urbane. He reads books instead of political tracts, has a taste for modern art and speaks creditable English. These characteristics have led some members of the Brezhnev team to suspect that Andropov, 67, is an intellectual with closet "liberal" tendencies. His career says otherwise. After stints as a telegraph operator and Volga boatman, he headed the Young Communist League in his native Karelia, worked briefly in Moscow, then served as ambassador to Budapest while Soviet tanks crushed the 1956 Hungarian revolt. Following a term as chief liaison with other Communist nations, Andropov was appointed chief of the KGB secret police in 1967. Since then, he has decimated the ranks of Soviet dissidents, overseen spy operations in the West and watchdogged last December's clampdown in Poland. His health poses a question mark: on occasion, he has dropped from sight for long periods. Insiders believe he is a diabetic.

The Defense Minister: Born in Kuibyshev on the Volga, Dmitry Ustinov worked for a time as a diesel mechanic before studying engineering. He was a 33-year-old Leningrad factory director when Joseph Stalin chose him as the nation's wartime Commissar of Armaments in 1941. Ustinov's success in moving vital arms plants out of German reach east of the Urals won him the title Hero of Socialist Labor, as did his later role in overseeing the Soviet Union's first manned spaceflight in 1961.

When Ustinov took over the defense portfolio in 1976, there were some discontented rumblings among Soviet military men: although he had had more than three decades of experience in the arms industry, Ustinov had made his name as a party bureaucrat, not as a fighting man. During the past six years, however, Ustinov's wholehearted commitment to a massive Soviet weapons buildup has won over many doubters. Now 73 and a Politburo member, he enjoys wide military support.


You know, Yuri, I'm not getting any younger,...and soon power must pass to the younger men of your generation.
I SAID, POWER MUST PASS TO THE YOUNGER MEN OF YOUR GENERATION!
MACNELLY

MacNelly—Chicago Tribune

Getting the ear of the country: A message for the Politburo's long gray line

The Dark Horses: If the choice is none of the above, Brezhnev's job may go to Politburo member and Moscow party boss Viktor Grishin, 67. Grishin is a gray, board-chairman type who would make a good compromise candidate: he lacks experience in foreign affairs, but he could be relied on to carry on Brezhnevism without Brezhnev. Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, 76, also a Politburo member, is another outside choice. If the power brokers opt for younger leadership, there are at least three notable possibilities. Industrial manager Vladimir Dolgikh, a 57-year-old party secretary, represents a newer breed of technocrat identified with more efficient economic policies. So does farm expert Mikhail Gorbachev, who at 51 is the youngest and best educated man on the Politburo and Secretariat. As party chief of Leningrad, Grigory Romanov, 59, has also established a strong record of achievement. But a scandal may have diminished Romanov's chances. For the wedding reception of his daughter several years ago, Romanov borrowed priceless czarist-era dishes from Leningrad's Hermitage museum. Evidently as a lark, Romanov's guests smashed much of the china. In Moscow, as in Washington, that just isn't done.

FAY WILLEY with ANDREW NAGORSKI in Moscow and bureau reports

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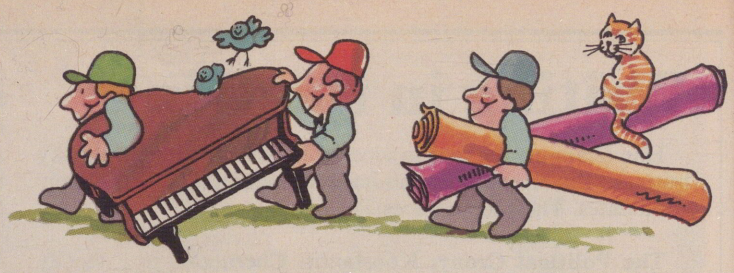

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sor. Besides Brezhnev, Kirilenko is the only surviving member of the cabal that overthrew Khrushchev in 1964. But in the past month, Kirilenko has mysteriously dropped out of sight. Some rumors suggested that Kirilenko's disappearance was a sign of a falling-out with Brezhnev. But others reported that Kirilenko, 75, is mortally ill, possibly from an advanced form of arteriosclerosis.

Meteoric Rise: As Brezhnev's health has faltered, he has relied increasingly on his former private secretary Konstantin Chernenko. Signs of Chernenko's ascendancy are everywhere: his meteoric rise through party ranks, his increasingly frequent role in receiving foreign VIP's, even the prominent display of his publications in Moscow bookstores. Most intriguingly, he is reportedly favored by Brezhnev to take over Suslov's ideology portfolio at the next Central Committee plenary session.

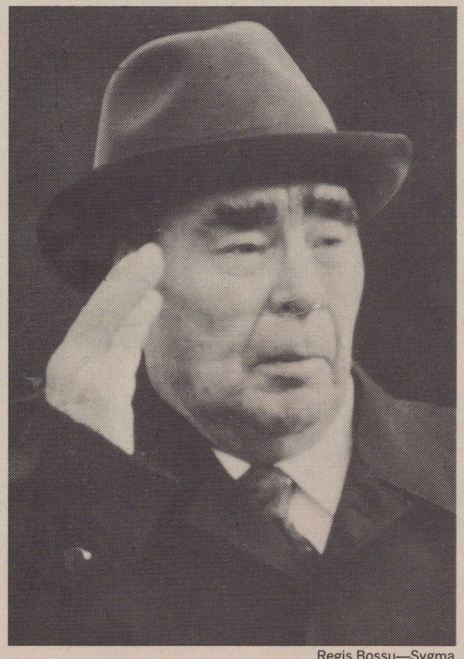
Chernenko, 70, may well have the support of entrenched party apparatchiks who want to hold on to the privileges they have amassed under Brezhnev's indulgent patronage. But he has no real political constituency of his own, and may be poorly armed to fight a succession war, particularly if the weapons include attacks on Brezhnev's legacy. Brezhnev's support "could be the kiss of death," predicts one Soviet expert in the Reagan Administration. "The moment he goes, it counts for nothing." According to U.S. intelligence reports, Chernenko is already opposed by the other major contenders—and would not win a succession battle at the Central Committee plenum in May.

The evidence seemed strong that whoever was behind the recent whispering campaign against Brezhnev meant to head off Chernenko as heir apparent. Some suspected Yuri Andropov, 67, the head of the KGB. "Someone is counterattacking Brezhnev," says one Western diplomat in Moscow. "If it is not the KGB itself, it at least has to be someone with access to the files." One theory is that Andropov may have set out to portray Brezhnev as losing his grip, raising doubts about his judgment in selecting Chernenko for Suslov's ideology post. His motive: to seize the Suslov job, put distance between himself and the liability of his KGB past and move toward the top himself. "Andropov has been nurturing his ambition quietly for a long time," says a Soviet source. "Now, he sees this as the time to move."

Veto: But a bid for succession by Andropov would possibly face strong opposition from the Soviet military. The KGB and the armed forces are often rivals, and Russia's military leaders have generally held a veto during Kremlin shake-ups. If they choose to wield the veto this time, Brezhnev's Defense Minister, Dmitry Ustinov, 73, could emerge as a dark-horse contender. But like so many of the candidates, Ustinov's health is in question. In the end, both Ustinov and Andropov may have to settle for behind-the-scenes roles as power brokers.

There remains the off chance that power may pass directly to a younger generation of Kremlin leaders; in that case, Mikhail Gorbachov, 51, the promising party secretary for agriculture, seems to be the front runner. But for the immediate post-Brezhnev period at least, the odds still run heavily in favor of a caretaker government led by men of Brezhnev's generation. One strong possibility is that such an interim government will include two or three leaders who share power while younger officials jockey for the prize of long-term succession. "You're going to get a two-phased succession," predicts one Soviet expert in Washington. "The first [will be] a stopgap affair of a year or two. Then you'll get the real succession."

For Ronald Reagan, there was a much more immediate question: how will Brezhnev's decline affect the increasingly strained relations between the superpowers? One view within the Administration was that in the short run Brezhnev's successors would largely stand pat, cleaving to previous Soviet foreign policies while turning the bulk of their attention to the Soviet bloc's worsening economic crisis. "The Soviet decision-making process is basically geriatric," explains one top State Department official. "They can go on doing what they have been doing, but . . . it's very hard for them to do anything new or innovative." A darker view is that the Kremlin's new leaders may not be able to resist the temptation to draw attention away from their economic woes by stepping up Soviet adventurism abroad. "If you look at the evolution of Marxism-Leninism you have a Russian empire in trouble," said a senior U.S. diplomat. He predicted that these difficulties would provide the West with "promising options—and unusual risks."



Regis Bossu—Sygma

Brezhnev at twilight: A wan salute

Some Western Kremlinologists hope that a new generation of pragmatic Soviet leaders will dismantle at least some of the Soviet Union's musclebound bureaucracy and trim its military spending. With Suslov gone, they argue, the way is now clear for younger men to tinker with the system. "There is some chance for real reform when Brezhnev dies," says one top U.S. Soviet expert. Others contend that there is little reason to believe that Brezhnev's successors will be able to act quickly or decisively. The politics of succession usually runs for several years, requiring dozens of deals and compromises with entrenched power brokers, none of whom stands to gain much from reform. Soviet economic and military planning usually unfolds in cycles that run ten or fifteen years, so many decisions made now may not really take hold until the 1990s.

History also suggests that the Soviet military budget fares very well during succession crises. "They ally themselves with whoever promises them the best deal," says one U.S. diplomat. That truth, coupled with the Reagan Administration's own commitment to boost defense spending, makes it highly unlikely that any new Soviet leaders will cut their military budget soon.

'Tough Line': The United States and its allies can do little to influence the Kremlin's taste in leaders. But they can help arrange the choices Brezhnev's successors must make: between confrontation and conciliation, between an arms race and arms control, between war and peace. So far the Soviets have not been pressed to make those choices. They have been able to borrow money and buy technology in the West while at the same time launching military adventures and an unprecedented arms buildup. "The best thing we can do for ourselves, for international relations, for the cause of peace and even for the Soviets themselves is to take a pretty tough line," argues Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution. "They have to be made to believe that they can't win military superiority and that adventurism is risky. If they want to tap the world economy, they have to be trustworthy partners, both commercially and politically."

The consensus within the Administration is that the Brezhnev era of détente has been too cheap for the Russians and too expensive for the West. "Détente was supposed to be a web of relations that would ensnare the Soviets," stresses a top U.S. official. "You could make a pretty good argument now that it's the West that is ensnared." Ronald Reagan certainly shares that view, and he is unlikely to shed his deep-seated mistrust of Moscow's leaders after Leonid Brezhnev departs. How Brezhnev's successors, whoever they turn out to be, will deal with Reagan's America is still anyone's guess. But the period ahead promises more uncertainty than ever.

MARK WHITAKER with ANDREW NAGORSKI in Moscow, JOHN WALCOTT in Washington and bureau reports

A System That Doesn't Work

In 1959, when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev boasted that the Russian economy would bury the West, his confidence seemed crudely justified. Soviet output, while still low, was growing at twice the American rate, and the Soviet Union stood to outstrip the United States in production, wealth and raw economic power by the turn of the century. But today, after two decades of economic upheaval and failure in the Soviet bloc, Khrushchev's prophecy has become a bitter joke. Growth in the communist world has slowed to a crawl. Consumer living standards are in decline. Poland is an international basket case, and other satellite nations are following close behind. The Soviet Union has the natural resources and internal cohesion to stave off any immediate collapse. But the country is mired in a slow-motion economic crisis that will inexorably force fundamental political decisions on the Kremlin and create opportunities—and dangers—for the West.

Richard Newton

A proud old symbol is showing its hollowness and its dents

At the heart of the crisis is a cumbersome and repressive system of economic management that discourages initiative and innovation and encourages inefficiency and waste in a land of chronic shortages. To change things, Moscow would have to reconsider the top priority given to the military sector and its rigid adherence to the ideological tenets of central planning. Instead, the aging Kremlin leadership prefers to maintain the illusion that its problems are not endemic to the Soviet system, but only passing individual failures. Previous reform efforts "just fizzled out on the soggy mass of the bureaucracies," says Robert Laird of Columbia University, and it seems unlikely that any meaningful changes will be adopted until a new leadership is in place.

Trickle of Credit: The most immediate problem is a cash bind that is strangling the entire Soviet bloc. The virtual bankruptcy of Poland has raised questions about the credit worthiness of all communist economies at a time when they must import Western materials, technology and food. "The problem with all the Eastern bloc is not just how to pay off their debts, but how to get more funds," says Sovietologist Wlodzimierz Brus. "They badly need to borrow, because without added funds, they cannot even fulfill their meager plan for the 1980s." Denied all but a trickle of Western credit, the Soviet Union has been selling large quantities of gold, diamonds and oil to raise hard cash, but the proceeds have not been sufficient. In the six months ended last June, Soviet deposits with Western banks dropped from $8.5 billion to just $3.6 billion. "That's the level of a Sri Lanka or a Malaysia," says one U.S. banker, "and you just don't let that happen. Cash is the last thing you use if you have anything else."

Hard-liners within the Reagan Administration have urged Western governments to withhold official credit to the Soviet bloc to punish the Kremlin for its intervention in Poland and elsewhere in the world. But credit is a two-edged weapon, and some Western experts fear that tight new restrictions could lead the Eastern nations to depend more heavily than ever on the Soviet Union—or to fall into default on their $85 billion of existing debt to the West. Given the sheer size of the communist debt, such a default decision would be a severe blow to the Western banking system.

The Soviet bloc's slow-motion economic collapse will create opportunities—and dangers—for the West.

Guns and Butter: The modern Soviet economy arose from Joseph Stalin's drive to harness the nation's resources for building a military machine and the heavy industrial base to support it. Stalin's approach worked best, however, at crude levels of industrialization. Today, although the bulk of his organization remains intact, the heady surge in the Soviet economy is over. After annual growth rates of close to 6 percent in the 1950s, Soviet output has advanced at only about 1.5 percent for the past three years.

That increase has been almost totally absorbed by the military. Yokohama City University Prof. Tsuneaki Sato calculates that as much as 50 or 60 percent of all Soviet industrial capacity may be devoted to arms production, and he says Eastern European colleagues have told him that the total might be even greater. A lukewarm guns-and-butter debate has recently arisen in the Kremlin, says Soviet specialist Laird, "but to date the military has gotten its 4 percent increases in real expenditures while the civilian sectors have absorbed all the failures."

The extent of those failures is reflected in the bleak life-style of the Soviet consumer. Faced with shortages of everything from toilet paper to well-made clothing, one or more members of the average Soviet family spend two hours a day—mostly in line—shopping for food and other necessities. About 20 percent of the urban population lives in dormitories or multifamily apartments, and in the countryside about 36 percent of the housing is without running water. Most Soviet washing machines are equipped with hand wringers, while the standard sew-

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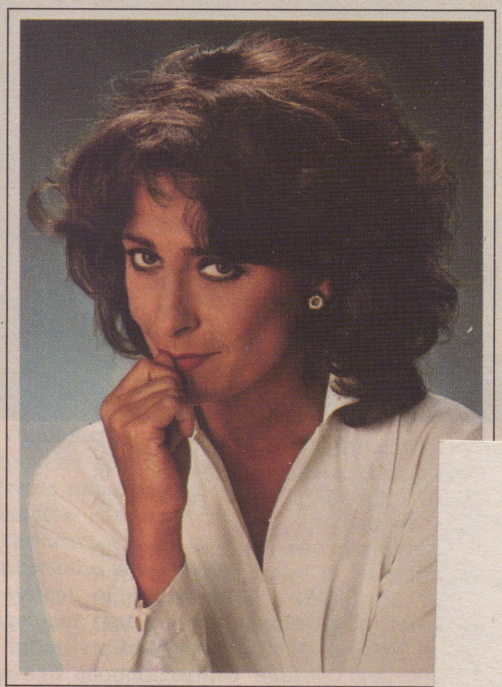
Elizabeth Ashley talks about her 'first time.'



ASHLEY: My first time was on the 'red-eye' from LA to New York.

INTERVIEWER: I had no idea you could get Campari on airplanes.

ASHLEY: Well, only on some U.S. airlines. But I'm told you can get it on most European flights. They're really much more cosmopolitan.

INTERVIEWER: Well, what was it like?

ASHLEY: It wasn't sweet. On the other hand, it wasn't really bitter. I guess bittersweet is the only way to describe it.

INTERVIEWER: Really? Tell me the whole story.

ASHLEY: Well, I was restless...couldn't sleep...didn't feel like reading. Then, somewhere over the Rockies, the man next to me turned and said, "Look, as long as you can't sleep, how'd you like to try something really different?"

I figured, oh, what the heck, why not.

So he turned off the reading lamps, called for the flight attendant, and ordered

and said, "Miss Ashley, most people feel that way their first time. But like a lot of things, it gets better and better."

You know, he was absolutely right. The second time was wonderful. And now I just love it...there are so many interesting ways to enjoy Campari.

INTERVIEWER: Yes; I'm sure. By the way, whatever happened to the man on the plane?

ASHLEY: That's my one regret. I just wish my second time could have been with him. I feel I owed him that much.

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CAMPARI. THE FIRST TIME IS NEVER THE BEST.

AP

M. Nojin—Magnum

Khrushchev on an Iowa corn farm (1959), black-market meat in Tashkent (1981): His pledge to 'bury' the West has become a bad joke

ing machine is a modified version of a Singer model manufactured in the United States in the 1920s. Old, inefficient machinery on potato farms is estimated to damage more than half of the harvest en route from field to storage. Consumers are particularly irritated by milk containers that invariably leak. "In twenty years, why haven't we been able to improve the woeful packaging machines or design something new and better?" demanded Literaturnaya Gazeta.

The answer is the stifling nature of Soviet economic management. At the top are armies of analysts and planners in Moscow; they are supported by similar ranks at republic, regional and industrial levels. In theory the complex system of reporting and command allows central planners to maximize efficiency by organizing and guiding production and setting prices for periods of up to five years. In practice the planning often results in bureaucratic chaos. Izvestia recently noted that it is common to see one freight train loaded with lumber heading east while another train with a similar load heads west. "Why does this happen?" asked the newspaper. "The distribution of 300 million [metric] tons of cut timber and forest products is scattered with no justification whatever among more than 61 ministries and departments and 12 union-republic state planning committees."

Raw Output: Soviet bureaucrats generally prefer to keep prices artificially low to prove the official contention that there is no inflation under communism. In fact, however, the low prices only result in the misallocation of resources, and inflation is measured in shortages and lines outside the shops. Another basic problem is that without the ability to bring output and prices in line with demand, no manager has any incentive to be flexible. With raw output the chief interest of economic planners, quality suffers as well. Materials often fail to arrive until mid-month, so that workers must work feverishly to slam together goods to meet their monthly quotas. The phenomenon is known as "the rush"; wise shoppers in the Eastern bloc look for production stamps inside television sets to see what day they were made. A set made early in the month is considered a choice buy.

Until very recently agriculture appeared to be one of the few Soviet successes. From 1951 to 1975 grain production on state farms and collectives rose from an average harvest of 90 million metric tons to more than 200 million, providing a per capita increase in grain supplies of about 2 percent a year. But more than two-thirds of the gains came from the use of more land, fertilizer, tractors and seeds, while productivity gains were almost nil. Thus the costs of those increases to the Soviet economy were astronomical, accounting for fully 25 percent of all new investment. Today, a quarter of the Soviet work force remains on the farm, compared with less than 4 percent in the United States. To process, deliver and sell their food supplies, the Soviets must employ an additional 43 million workers, versus only 12 million in America.

'Bad Weather': In a speech to the Central Committee last November, Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev called food "economically and politically the central problem of the four-year plan." The Soviet leadership has refused to disclose the size of the 1981 grain harvest; but milk production last year was 88.5 million metric tons, the lowest figure since 1973, and the output of butter declined as well. Meat supplies ostensibly increased to 15.2 million metric tons from 15.1 million in 1980, but output was still below the 15.5 million metric tons of meat produced in 1978. Even so, Sergei Antonov, the Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry, was routinely awarded the Order of Lenin on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The Soviets attribute their poor harvests to "bad weather," which has, in fact, contributed to some of the recent shortfalls. The real problem, however, is the rigid control that Moscow exercises over an industry that by its very nature depends on flexibility and an intimate knowledge of local conditions. In his speech Brezhnev insisted that "farms should plant crops suited to their local conditions and be allowed methods that suit the conditions, too." But in the Soviet Union the inertia lies with central planning, which sometimes manages only to multiply stupidity. Upon returning from a celebrated trip to Iowa in 1959, Nikita Khrushchev bubbled with enthusiasm for the production of corn as animal feed. For years afterward every state farm and collective had to plant corn, no matter what its climate. The result was spotty corn production and no miracle in animal feed. Such thinking remains a problem.

Tinkering: Private plots where collective farmers can cultivate their own crops account for only 1.5 percent of the Soviet Union's farmland, but they produce about one-third of its total agricultural output other than grain. Even in this area production is stagnant and, in the case of milk, declining. At a time of feed shortages, the state farms almost certainly get first call on grain supplies. The private plots have also been hurt by the general aging of the farm population as younger people flee the rural life. Brezhnev has loosened some of the restrictions on what the private plots may raise; he has also begun to stress the importance of the plots to the over-all agricultural system. But most of these changes have only been tinkering.

One factor inhibiting change is an innate Soviet conservatism that results in an agonizingly slow decision-making process. Western experts estimate that it takes an average of eight to thirteen years for a major Soviet investment project to pass from the planners to final production. A classic ex-

Sichov—Sipa-Black Star

A Moscow food queue: The Soviet Army gobbles up the budget, while Soviet families spend two hours a day scrounging for necessities

ample is the huge automobile factory the Soviets imported from Italy's Fiat. Construction began in the second half of the 1960s; it took until the late 1970s for the plant to come up to full capacity—and when it did, it was already obsolete.

Real reform, says Marshall Goldman, a Wellesley College Kremlinologist, would involve "a complete reversal of the planning mechanism, a reversal of the incentive system and an enormous fear of failure." The risks are simply unacceptable to the Kremlin's geriatric leadership: there might be unemployment, overproduction and, if prices really represent costs, inflation. In addition, the army can be served first in an imposed economy, while in an open-market economy the military is subject to at least some budgetary constraints. Brezhnev almost certainly recalls that an effort to reduce military manpower was a critical factor in Khrushchev's downfall in 1964. He has not been tempted to try that experiment again.

Lion's Share: Yet Soviet military spending must be reduced if civilian industry is ever to improve its current third-rate level. "The mechanization of industry is still an acute problem," says Vladimir Nemchenko, of the Academy of the National Economy. "According to my calculations, 43.5 percent of our industrial workers are still doing manual labor." Soviet investment, however, has been declining sharply. During the first half of the 1970s, investment grew at about 7.2 percent a year; with the announcement of the tenth Five Year Plan in 1975, it dropped to 4.5 percent. "In the eleventh Five Year Plan, which came out last year, the party congress adopted a goal of 3 percent a year," says Yokohama City University's Sato. "And when the Supreme Soviet took it up last November, it was cut still further to 2 percent a year—a decline in a number that was already decreasing." The military still receives the lion's share of the little money available.

Eastern Europe has suffered from its own variations of Soviet-style economic planning. But since the early days of détente, the Soviet bloc has also fallen ironic victim to its greater openness to the West. To improve the living standards of their people and revitalize their primitive industry, Soviet satellites borrowed heavily during the past decade to import Western technology. The theory was simple: the loans would pay for new factories that would produce goods for export, and when the loans fell due, they would be paid from the proceeds of greater sales abroad.

Only the East Germans and the Hungarians were relatively successful at implementing that strategy; the Poles and Romanians turned out shoddy goods that Westerners had no desire to buy. As imports from the West rose (from $10.1 billion in 1970 to $70.6 billion last year) so did debts (from $7.3 billion to $85 billion). "The Soviet economic model has lost its luster," says Wellesley's Goldman. "It can build up heavy industry, but it can't go beyond that. You see it in all the Soviet-bloc economies. Right now it looks like all the model guarantees is failure."

Debt Burdens: An oil crisis that hit with full force in 1979 has compounded the economic problems of the bloc. Until then, Eastern Europe could ignore rising prices by dipping into foreign credits or by importing low-priced Soviet oil. But as debt burdens mounted and the Soviets began to contemplate an oil shortage of their own, the situation changed abruptly. In order to protect its domestic supplies and shift its oil exports to customers that could pay in hard currencies, the Soviet Union began trimming its sales to Eastern Europe by as much as 10 percent. Even more significantly, it also began phasing out the preferential treatment that allowed its satellites to buy oil at half the world-market price.

The accumulating pressures have been catastrophic for Poland, a bloc member that was eager to follow the Soviet economic model. "This system of economic management is bankrupt; not communism itself, but the centrally dictated Soviet system of planning and management," says economist Jan Vanous of the Wharton Econometrics Forecasting Associates. Despite an economic bailout from the West, Poland crumbled because of its failure to meet the economic demands of a

Awaiting 'the rush': Time out on an auto assembly line

Jonathan Wright—Gamma-Liaison

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politically rebellious people organized into the Solidarity trade union and willing to halt production with strikes. Output dropped 13 percent last year. Martial law has not stopped the slide. Poland did manage last week to complete paying $500 million in back interest on rescheduled 1981 loans from Western banks. But it has also fallen in arrears on its 1982 payments and must start renegotiating them.

Romania, the bloc's other most tattered member, took much longer than Poland to mismanage its debts. After scoring impressive economic gains between 1970 and 1979, it ran into export and production troubles in 1980 and fell behind in its payments on debts that now total $10.1 billion. Bucharest presented the International Monetary Fund with a set of solid export and financial accounts that persuaded the IMF to advance a new $1.5 billion line of credit last year; then the accounts turned out to be fanciful. "Romania was the greatest slow-pay and bad-check artist in the world," says Vanous. "It was trying its best, but it just didn't have the money." The IMF loan fell apart. Like Poland, Romania is now struggling to reschedule its debts.

Question Mark: Coming atop Vietnam's default of $500 million in loans managed by Japan, the economic crises in Poland and Romania now confront the Soviet bloc with a massive credit squeeze. Some Western economists believe that the Poles will never

Schmitt—Stern

Construction workers in Bucharest: The President prescribed a diet

The Next Basket Case

The evenings have grown a bit darker in Bucharest since Romania's Communist government ordered the street lights shut off to save energy. The lines outside food shops stretch ever longer, while a raft of basic foodstuffs—meat, milk, cheese, wine, eggs, cooking oil and sugar—fall into shorter and shorter supply. When shoppers reach the check-out counter, they pay their bills with the leu, a national currency which is in such bad shape that the shrewd have begun to ignore it. They turn for other purchases to a medium of exchange that buys far more—and buys it far more quickly—in today's Romania: the American-made Kent 100 cigarette.

Romania's financial troubles have put the nation's Communist Party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, on the spot. Yet it is precisely Ceausescu's autocratic style of rule—and the bureaucracy he presides over—that blocks all roads of escape from Romania's crisis. Ceausescu, 64, serves both as Romania's President and as its Communist Party chief; he brooks no debate over his policies in the Romanian press, has filled the government's ranks with members of his own family and is grooming his high-living youngest son, Nicu, to succeed him. To ensure centralized control over the country, he rotates high-level bureaucrats from post to post, preventing them from building regional power bases. "There is no debate about how to realign things; or if there is, it's a very private debate," says a diplomat in Bucharest.

Romania's oil shortfall in recent years has left Ceausescu looking for Western currency to pay for oil imports. His answer has been to launch a drive to export Romanian goods to the West. In one respect the export drive has succeeded impressively: Romania has passed from an $800 million trade deficit in 1980 to a $200 million surplus this year, has increased exports to the United States by 100 percent in the past year and has reduced exchanges with other East-bloc states to 33 percent of its total trade—the lowest of any Soviet satellite. But Romanian consumers have paid the toll. In mid-1980 Ceausescu's economic planners began to divert key farm goods from domestic markets to foreign buyers, and imposed a strict anti-hoarding law to deny shoppers more than scrimpy quotas of staples such as sugar and cooking oil. Odd-even rotation for Sunday motoring is aimed at cutting gas use. The currency squeeze has even forced the government to produce its own spare parts for the British-made BAC-111 jets of TAROM, the national airline.

With Romania's economic plight clouding the value of the leu, Romanians have developed the odd black-market economy based on Kent 100s—cigarettes that hold a near-mystic appeal in Romania (for a time after World War II Kents enjoyed an exclusive franchise in the country). Taxi drivers at the Otopeni International Airport turn off their meters for the $23 ride into Bucharest in exchange for two packs of Kents. Two cartons are enough to get a car repaired quickly. A Bucharest housewife provides 2 pounds of coffee and a carton of Kents to secure an appointment with a gynecologist, whose services are otherwise "free" under Romania's socialized medical system.

Tribulations: Ceausescu blames Romania's plight on economic recession in the West, on the rise in the dollar's value in early 1981, on greedy hoarders and on slack productivity among Romania's workers. He has also refused to acknowledge food shortages and has declared publicly that many Romanians are overweight and should go on diets. Western bankers and representatives from the International Monetary Fund—Romania is the only IMF member in the East bloc—have trooped to Bucharest to monitor the country's economic tribulations and to press Ceausescu to repay its mounting debt. Ceausescu's aides talked repeatedly last year of restructuring the economy to resemble Hungary's, with more room for independent initiative. But no action has taken place, apparently because the regime sees decentralization as a direct threat to the party's power. Ceausescu's only initiative has been to step up tired appeals to Romanian workers to increase their productivity. Answering one such call recently, the directors of Romania's state-run television authority planted a vegetable patch outside their Bucharest headquarters. It's going to take more than that.

MARK WHITAKER with THEODORE STANGER in Bucharest

China's Capitalist Road

In the free markets of China's Sichuan Province, the thought of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao is now competing with the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. In one stall a peddler of rat poison puts out four furry corpses to boost sales. "Advertising might help," he muses, studying the booths of other poison dealers nearby. In a crowded alley more than 100 private tailors snip, stitch and turn out suits for as little as $2, cashing in on volume. "We never go short of customers," grins one iconoclast: his $70 monthly earnings have made him twice as wealthy as the average worker who goes by the Marxist book.

Three years ago Deng Xiaoping decided to make Sichuan Province the testing ground for a daring plan to dismantle the ultraleft economic policies of the "Gang of Four" and loosen traditional communist central planning. "The state's control is too tight," said Zhao Ziyang, then Sichuan Province chief. "Our idea is to combine the planned economy with market forces." Over the next few months Sichuan's private plots doubled and its firms gained more decision-making power in money matters. Hundreds of factories reorganized as "shareholders" in larger enterprises, and free markets and private enterprises flourished. Today, Zhao has become Prime Minister of China and Sichuan's successful experiment in a mixed economy stands as a tantalizing model for the rest of the country.

Melinda Liu—Newsweek

Peddling rat poison: Let's try advertising

In the Red: Zhao began Sichuan's experiment by giving factories more responsibility for their profits and losses. At first, industrial enterprises that fulfilled their annual goals were allowed to keep 5 percent of their planned profits and 20 percent of anything earned above the plan. (Traditionally units turned over all profits to the state.) Now instead of remitting their profits to the central government, ten state-owned enterprises in Sichuan pay an assortment of taxes (including a 50 percent profit tax). Last year these units chalked up an 80 percent increase in profit. In contrast, nearly one-fifth of the province's state-run units operating under the old system were running in the red.

Five years ago private plots and free markets were still considered "capitalist tails that had to be cut off." Last year the province confirmed that 15 percent of farmland could be distributed as private plots, and farmers were allowed to diversify their crops and branch out into livestock raising and cottage industries. Aggressive free-market vendors laden with chickens, rabbits, cabbages and other vegetables now sell furiously from dawn to dusk. Rural savings have risen 80 percent and the retail sales of televisions and radios have gone up 150 percent.

In the cities, meanwhile, private enterprise is also making a comeback. More than 65,000 entrepreneurs—mostly tailors, cobblers and food hawkers—raked in a retail volume of $40 million last year. Sidewalk tailors pay the government a daily tax of about 20 cents to set up a sewing machine and worktable. And, competing with the lackadaisical service in most state-run canteens, private noodle vendors in Chengdu hustle to serve customers Sichuan's spicy cuisine.

Another new trend is a fascination with mergers. More and more unprofitable units are being pressured to merge with others or shut down. Peking-run enterprises have united with locally run factories in Sichuan, for example, and military and civilian factories have combined. This has presented a break with traditional forms of control and planning. In some rural enterprises, each participating unit is a "shareholder" that contributes cash, land or labor worth $600 per share. "Shareholders' representatives have the right to set production plans, profits distribution and the appointment and removal of managers," says the official Xinhua news agency.

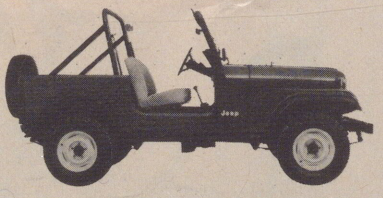
Fixed Prices: Sichuan has not slid back all the way to real capitalism. The state still sets an over-all plan, production quotas and prices for key items like steel, coal and chemical fertilizer. Many of the free markets now have fixed price ranges that peddlers are not supposed to exceed—a measure adopted after inflation and arbitrary price hikes threatened to cancel out the effect of recent wage increases. Prime Minister Zhao himself has been quick to defend the ultimate superiority of socialism. "The major principles of socialism are the public ownership of the means of production and paying each according to his work," he declares. "Provided these two are upheld, we can avoid capitalism and the exploitation of man by man." In the meantime what harm will a little free enterprise do?

FAY WILLEY with MELINDA LIU in Peking

be able to pay off their debts and that Romania remains a question mark as well. Others predict that the Soviet Union will probably scratch up enough money to keep the Poles current on their debts, fending off a complete loss of credit. By one estimate, over the past two years the Soviet Union has funneled about $1.2 billion to Poland for debt service; other bloc members have chipped in $800 million. But this pragmatic generosity has only confronted the entire bloc with a terrible new liquidity crisis.

The pinch will probably get worse long before it gets better. In recent months the Soviet Union has drawn down deposits in Western banks, asked the West Germans and Japanese to delay the payment periods on outstanding loans and attempted to negotiate new Western loans using gold as collateral. Moscow has also been selling off what salable commodities it holds. Last year it unloaded an estimated 280 to 300 metric tons of gold on the world market (up from 90 in 1980). Bankers expect sales for this year to run anywhere from 300 to 350 metric tons if the price of oil, the source of 50 percent of Soviet hard-currency earnings, holds—and more than 400 if oil prices drop to $30 a barrel.

The Soviet Union does have two significant sources of strength to fall back on. All through the 1970s Moscow was far more cautious than its junior partners in taking on foreign debts. The Soviet Union's own indebtedness now stands at a manageable $20 billion, and its vast reserves of raw materials will serve as a hefty kitty against the future. At the same time, Moscow has been notoriously stingy about granting aid to the Third World. It has eagerly sought out clients like Libya and Iraq, which can pay arms bills in oil money. Angola, which also has oil, helps subsidize Cuba by paying for roughly 20,000 Cuban troops in hard currency. Soviet adventures in places like



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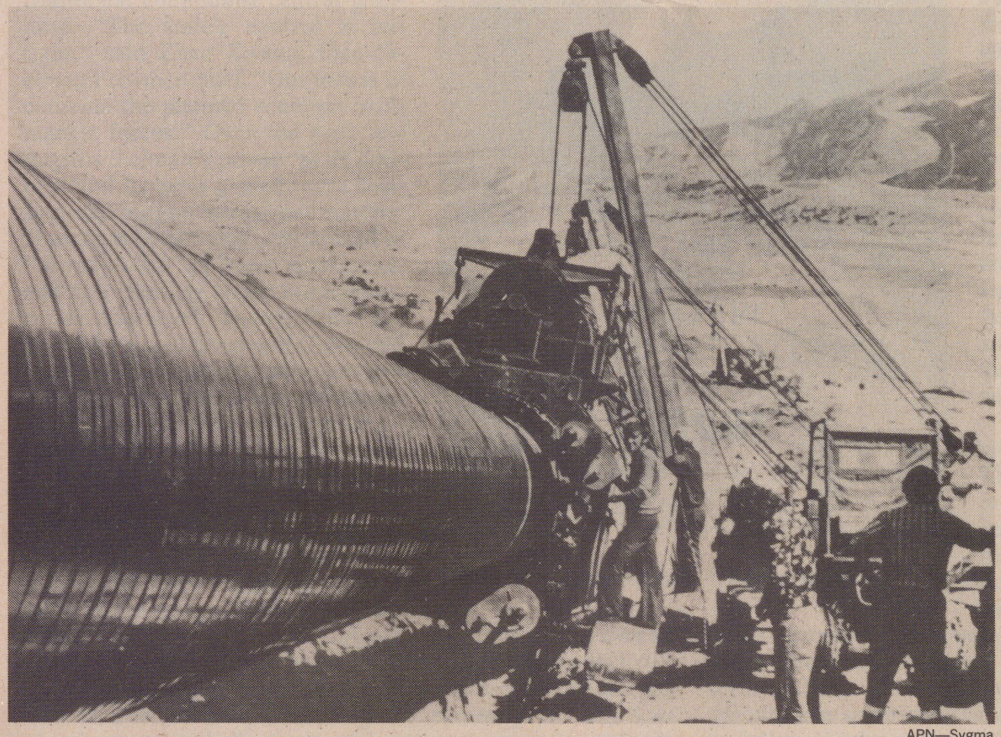
Even so, economic pressures are sure to weigh heavily on the Soviet Union's future calculations and field of maneuver. Falling prices for raw materials will hurt, and higher energy prices will continue to impose drastic reductions in economic growth rates throughout the Soviet bloc. The world recession also will crimp its ability to expand trade or even maintain current levels with depressed free markets of the West. "All the East bloc faces reduced growth in the 1980s," says Susanne Lotarski, of the Department of Commerce. "Of course, I keep reminding myself that the West is in a slowdown, too. But the troubles are occurring at



APN—Sygma

A Soviet gas pipeline in the North Caucasus: Straining over the high price of empire

levels of consumption that are much lower than those in similar Western nations."

So the Soviet Union now faces a very thorny dilemma. If it can't supply its satellites with food and oil, they will have no choice but to look to the West and OPEC. If the West tightens credit, the Soviet Union will either have to pay their bills or face the dangerous tensions that an ever lower standard of living will produce in the bloc. While workers in the Soviet Union have shown an almost superhuman ability to pull in their belts notch after notch, the example of Poland has shown that the boiling point elsewhere is far lower. Further turmoil in Poland could still force the Kremlin to resort to its own troops, a course that would probably close the Eastern bloc's open access to Western markets for some time, seal the fate of arms-control talks and lead to an expensive new round in the arms race. "If I had to think through their problems," says one senior State Department hand, "I guess I'd rather have ours than theirs."

Administration hard-liners like Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle and National Security Council Sovietologist Richard Pipes contend that the Soviet Union is badly overextended; that the United States and its allies should force Poland, Romania and any other bloc member in trouble to default; that the burden for supporting such crippled economies would fall upon and further hamper the Soviet Union's own sickly economy. The West, they argue, should draw no distinction between the Soviet Union and its satellites since all are hostile to Western interests and since Poland has shown that force remains the governing reality of the system. And they believe that if President Reagan sticks to, or even toughens, the anti-Soviet line that has been the centerpiece of his foreign policy, Moscow might have to alter its ways. Says Pipes, "We are now at one of those junctures in Russian history, the others being 1921 [a year of famine and revolt] and the death of Stalin, where things are so bad that something has to be done."

Bearish Hug: A more pragmatic school at the State Department, with some allies at Treasury and in the Commerce Department, argues that the hard-line view is simplistic. These officials point out that the Soviet Union is nowhere near collapse and that the weaker the bloc countries become, the more likely they are to shun closer contacts with the West—and to return to Moscow's very bearish hug. They say the West should differentiate among the regimes of the bloc, aiding some but not others. So far the pragmatists have prevailed, though Poland has considerably strengthened the hand of Perle and Pipes. The Reagan Administration has held out against throwing Poland into default; it is also expected to approve Hungary's application to join the IMF. "Those are exactly the trends we should be encouraging," says Assistant Secretary of State Robert Hormats. "If the Hungarian experiment succeeds, others may want to imitate them, too."

Both sides agree that economic pressure needs to be applied to Moscow. "There is no political justification for providing subsidized credits to the U.S.S.R.," says Hormats. "They're not a developing country; they're the second largest economy in the world." To press for change on Poland, Afghanistan and arms control, the Administration wants its European allies to cut off all government-to-government export subsidies and bargain-basement credit to Moscow. But Under Secretary of State James Buckley met allied skepticism and reluctance, particularly in Bonn, when he made a recent trip to Europe to lobby for the credit squeeze. The economic links between Western Europe and the Soviet Union remain strong. Until Administration pragmatists and hard-liners agree on a common stance it will probably be impossible to win general European support for a new East-West economic policy. And without support from Western Europe, a U.S. credit freeze would be largely meaningless.

Living Standards: Whether or not the West changes its position on credits, the Eastern bloc faces a return to austerity in the years ahead. By one estimate, Moscow's European satellites will have to double exports to meet their debt-service and energy-import requirements, and that can be accomplished only at the expense of the domestic consumer. Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia have already reduced subsidies on basic food products, and the Hungarian Government has flatly warned its people not to expect any increase in consumer goods—just prices. Nor are conditions likely to improve in the Soviet Union itself, where consumption levels are only a third of those in the United States. During the coming decade, concludes a recent study for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, "progress in raising living standards is likely to slow to a crawl." Given that outlook, many Western experts have become convinced that the Soviets will have little choice but to embark eventually on a dangerous program of economic liberalization. The only alternative will be even greater repression to keep an increasingly sullen population in line.

HARRY ANDERSON with RICH THOMAS and JOHN WALCOTT in Washington, ANDREW NAGORSKI in Moscow, THEODORE STANGER in Bonn, RON MOREAU in Paris, KIM WILLENSON in Tokyo and HOPE LAMPERT in New York

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9 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec. '81.
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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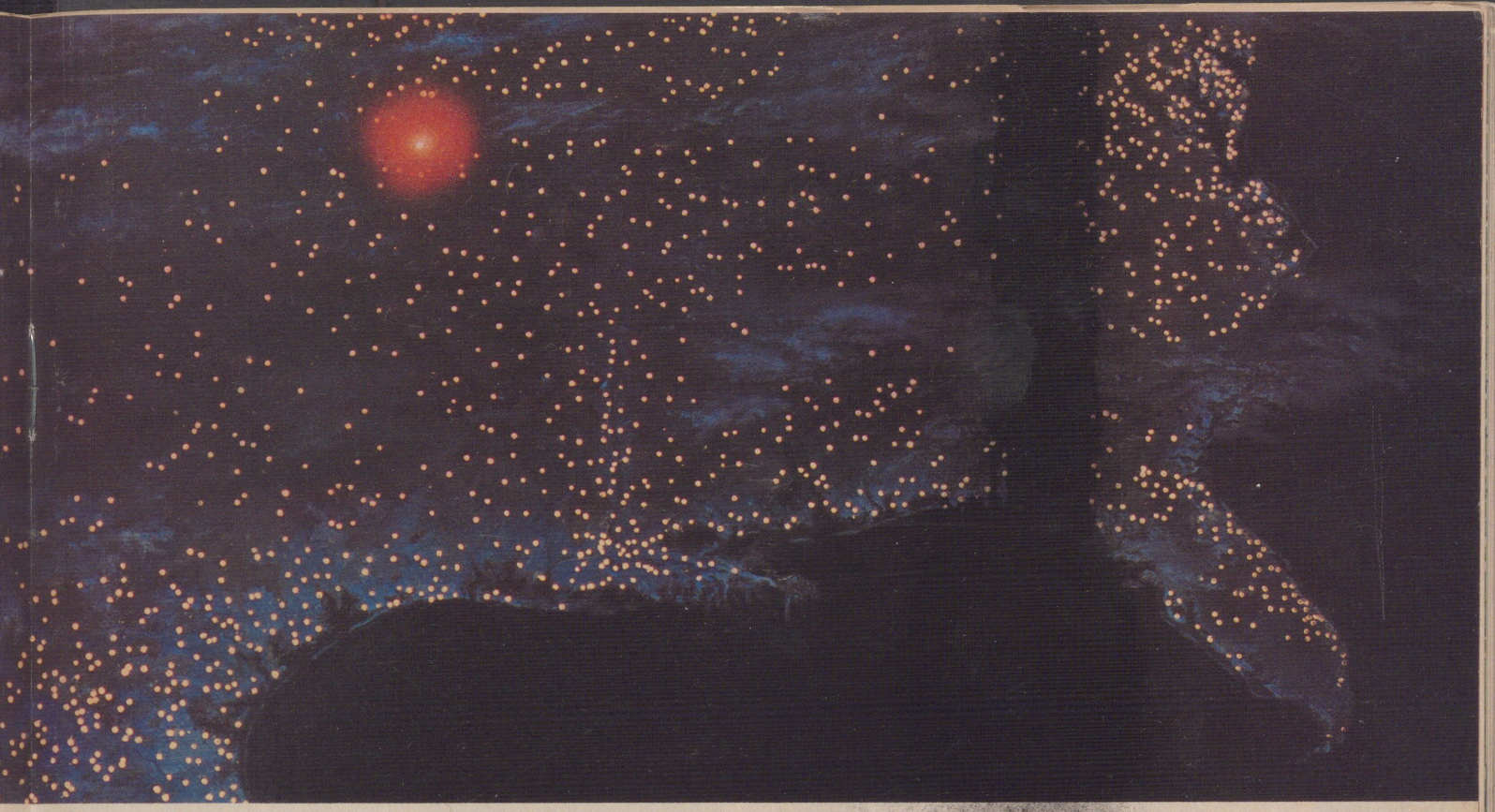

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Steven Clevenger—Sipa-Black Star

Hamilton—AP

Duarte, D'Aubuisson at post-election rallies: A brief interlude of politics held sway over the bloodshed

EL SALVADOR

Good News and Bad News

In the dusty town of Apopa, Salvadorans chatted noisily as they waited on line to vote in the schoolyard. Suddenly, leftist guerrillas opened fire. Rifle shots smashed against the school's walls, sending adobe chips whizzing over the crowd. As army troops returned the fire, the voters ran for cover or hit the dirt. When the shooting died down, the people strode right back into line. A few minutes later the insurgents attacked and were beaten back again—and once more the line re-formed. "There is shooting many days, and we still do what we have to do," said Leticia Palomo, who temporarily lost her hearing when a bullet exploded near her head. "Today we have to vote, so here we are—and here we will stay."

Almost 1.5 million Salvadorans—all but about 100,000 of the country's eligible voters—cast ballots last week in El Salvador's first honest elections in 50 years. The overwhelming turnout surprised junta leaders in San Salvador and rebel commanders in the countryside. The show of democracy represented a major defeat for the left, which had urged a boycott and had tried to disrupt the vote. And it encouraged U.S. policymakers, who had promoted the elections and were rewarded with the spectacle, however brief, of politics holding sway over guerrilla warfare. But the vote itself proved far from decisive. In the aftermath, the country's political left was as isolated as ever. The moderate center jostled for power with an extremist right wing. The result was certain to be an uneasy coalition government that might well be weaker than the outgoing regime.

The votes were scattered among six parties. Of the 60 seats in the new constituent assembly—which is empowered to name a provisional President or junta, rewrite the constitution and set Presidential elections—the U.S.-backed Christian Democrats of President José Napoleón Duarte won 24 (40 percent of the vote). The ultraright Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena) of Roberto (Major Bob) D'Aubuisson won nineteen seats (29 percent). The rest of the seats were divided among three of the four other rightist parties, and 10 percent of the ballots were spoiled—many deliberately, apparently out of sympathy for the left. Within hours of the election, D'Aubuisson had tentatively formed a coalition of rightists—but U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton quickly blocked the right-wingers, warning that Washington would not support any coalition that excluded the moderate Christian Democrats. As one politician put it, Hinton had become "the Saint Peter of the new political process: he made it clear just who was and who was not deserving of the Great Reward."

Ice Water: Ronald Reagan, whose own election in 1980 drew only 53 percent of America's eligible voters, told a news conference that "all of us should have been a little bit inspired by what took place" in El Salvador. Leftists burned 90 buses to halt transportation to the polls, but stretches of the Pan American Highway in steamy eastern El Salvador, a center of guerrilla activity, were choked with thousands of voters who said they had hiked up to 12 miles to cast their ballots. In San Sebastián, just 4 miles south of a leftist-controlled *zona liberada,* hundreds of townspeople lined up in the sunbaked plaza amid vendors selling ice water and watermelon. In Colonia Robles, a middle-class suburb of San Salvador, the line to the 60 voting tables stretched for a mile and a half. In Ayutuxtepeque, election officials abandoned one polling place after heavy early-morning fighting—but the turnout at the other precincts was heavy.

In Mejicanos, hundreds of people began lining up outside the polling place as soon as the sun rose at 5:30. Asked if she was concerned about the shooting nearby, one woman answered with a shrug, "Oh, that must have been two blocks away." When the gates to the polling place opened, the voters trampled each other in a stampede to get inside. "Everyone is very anxious to vote," said one bruised victim, a heavyset woman with a perfect footprint on the back of her dress. "We have to do something to end the violence. Maybe voting will help. Maybe not. But we have to try, no?"

Warning: The leftists did block some voting. In Usulután, El Salvador's fourth largest city, about 100 guerrillas calmly walked into the town center and held it for five days, cutting off water, electricity—and the elections. Scores of rebels swarmed down from the hills surrounding Santiago de María, blocked the main thoroughfare with a huge tree trunk, called the townspeople together and warned them not to vote. They didn't.

For the most part, armed forces kept their promise of neutrality during the elections. Troops effectively protected most polling places. They did not stuff ballot boxes and, under orders from their commanders, did not vote themselves. "They did an excellent job—for once," said a Western official in San Salvador. But some Salvadorans, whose names and identification numbers were recorded at polling places, may have voted because of threats from the army. "We voted because we were afraid not to," said one mother of six who waited in line for hours only to annul her ballot by marking an X from corner to corner. "The soldiers told us we would be in trouble if we didn't vote, and the guerrillas told us we would be in trouble

if we did. So we did vote, but we didn't vote—all at once."

Washington's first reaction to the vote was euphoric. After the polls closed, Secretary of State Alexander Haig quickly declared the election "a victory we have all won." But as the votes were counted, Washington realized that considerable power had been placed in the cold hands of D'Aubuisson, a dismissed army major who has been tied to attempted coups, right-wing death squads, attacks on the U.S. Embassy and the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980. Publicly, Reagan warned that "it would give us great difficulties" if the new government reneged on Duarte's land and banking reforms, which D'Aubuisson has called "communist." Privately, U.S. officials told D'Aubuisson that Christian Democratic participation in any provisional government was simply "a nonnegotiable item," one Arena politician said.

Provisional Junta: Under intense pressure from Washington ("They got the elections they wanted and they're making sure they get the election results they wanted," snapped one Latin diplomat), the right-wing parties grudgingly agreed not to freeze out the Christian Democrats. Washington believes that it can keep D'Aubuisson himself out of power, but in return Duarte, who is despised by the right, will almost certainly be forced out. Looking weary as he bargained to stay in power, Duarte seemed to hint that his political career might be over for now. "Of course we knew we might not win; that's the risk of democracy," he told NEWSWEEK. "I'm not disappointed. Not really. Not terribly." The most likely new government is a provisional ruling junta made up of representatives of the Christian Democrats, Arena, the military and possibly the rightist Party of National Conciliation, which placed third in the voting.

The leader of El Salvador's nonviolent leftist coalition, Guillermo Ungo, said from exile last week that he would not negotiate with D'Aubuisson "because it is foolish to believe you can have a democratic fascist." Ungo left the door open to talks with other leaders, including Duarte, his running mate in the 1972 Presidential elections. But the new junta is sure to be to the right of Duarte's, and until the constituent assembly schedules Presidential elections, probably not until 1983 at the earliest, the country will be run by a tenuous coalition that will likely be weakened by internal squabbling. The consolation for El Salvador's moderates is that the leftist guerrillas are reeling from their repudiation at the polls. If the new government can capitalize by winning over the peaceable left and stifling the violent right, a political solution for El Salvador may be in sight. If not, the insurgents will regroup and try to regain their own momentum with increased military attacks.

JOHN BRECHER with BETH NISSEN, STRYKER McGUIRE and JAMES LeMOYNE in El Salvador

UPI photos

The islands' new flag, Hunt (below)

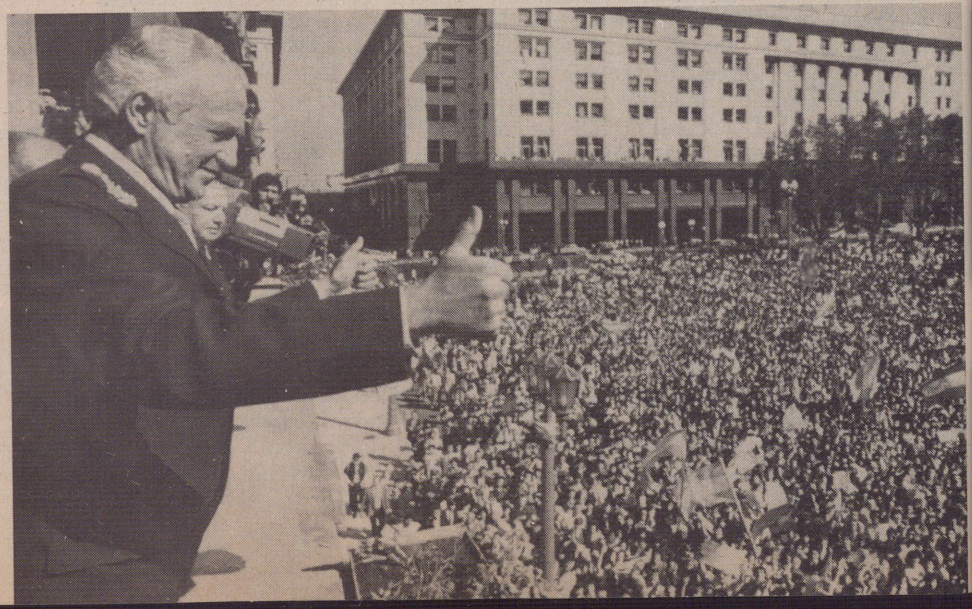
SOUTH ATLANTIC

Battle for the F

It began like a scene from a Peter Sellers movie. Last month a small band of Argentine scrap merchants looking for metal "invaded" South Georgia, an ice-covered speck of British turf in the Atlantic, 1,300 miles off the coast of Argentina. They startled penguins and annoyed some fourteen British scientists by planting the Argentine flag and singing the national anthem. From their Falkland Islands colony 800 miles away, 40 British marines sped to the rescue aboard the Endurance, a two-gun icebreaker. But the "pirates" didn't quail at the sight of the Union Jack. Instead, Argentina last week dispatched an aircraft carrier task force—and mounted "Operation Sovereignty," a predawn, 4,000-man invasion to claim the Falklands.

The invasion set up an unlikely international showdown over an island inhabited by 700,000 sheep and 1,800 residents of British descent who call themselves "kelpers" after the local seaweed. In London, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher severed relations with Argentina over the "wanton act" and called for help from the United Nations Security Council, which late in the week adopted a resolution demanding that Argentina withdraw its forces immediately. Argentina declared that it would "not retreat," and ordered all British diplomats to leave Argentina this week. Thatcher also reportedly sent a hunter-killer submarine, the Superb, and an auxiliary ship toward the Falklands. In Portsmouth and Gibraltar, British admirals assembled 40 warships, including the carriers Hermes and Invincible—and the fleet's most famous helicopter pilot, Prince Andrew. The naval force was scheduled to leave early this week for the two-week voyage to the Falklands, and Fleet Street played the story as though it were Admiral Nelson's last stand. "The jingoistic Argentines and their swashbuckling scrap-metal

Galtieri presides over a victory celebration: Thumbs up for a 'mission accomplished'



Falklands

merchants are looking for trouble," warned the Daily Mail. "If we have to use force . . . we will."

Ronald Reagan had tried in vain to head off the invasion. At Thatcher's request, he phoned Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri on the eve of the attack. Through interpreters, he talked for 50 minutes, trying to persuade Galtieri to call off the hostilities. Out of deference to Galtieri, Reagan referred to the Falklands as the Malvinas, their Argentine name. He noted that Thatcher is a determined person, and said he was convinced she would retaliate with military force if Argentina carried out its threat. Reagan added that a conflict between Argentina and Britain would be a "heavy blow" to his own efforts to improve U.S. relations with Argentina. Galtieri replied that he appreciated Reagan's concern, but that "time has run out."

Union Jack: If Argentina's case was trifling, it had its merits: the scrap dealers had a legitimate contract to dismantle three whaling stations on the South Georgias. But the British, offended by the flag-raising antics, charged that the Argentines had failed to get the "proper clearance" from authorities in the Falklands. To aggravate matters, some kelpers retaliated for the South Georgia incident by breaking into the local office of an Argentine airline, hoisting the Union Jack, and posting a sign that read: "Tit for tat."

The squabble presented the Argentine junta with a pretext to divert attention from 13 percent unemployment, 120 percent inflation and growing civil unrest. Before the invasion, Galtieri raised the nation's ancient claim that Argentina inherited the Falklands and their dependencies—South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands—from Spain and that England illegally seized them in 1833. There may also have been a more practical reason for reviving the claim: the Falklands are thought by some geologists to have vast potential offshore oil and natural-gas reserves. Charging "British naval aggression," the Argentine junta abruptly rejected all British diplomatic overtures and began massing its invasion force Thursday.

AP

British marines evacuated from the Falklands: 'Ready and willing'—and outnumbered

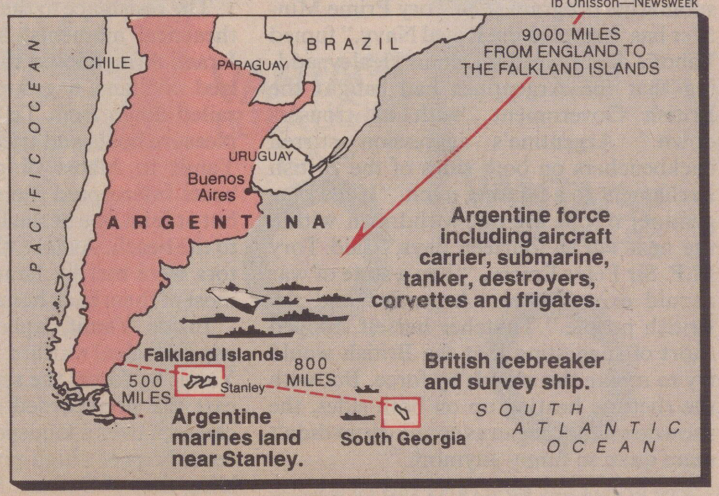
The kelpers were virtually defenseless. Rex Hunt, the governor of the colony, appeared on British television, his plumed hat fluttering in the icy breeze, to announce the kelpers' refusal to submit to Argentine pressure. He summoned all 178 "serving members of the Falkland Islands Defense Force to report to the drill hall." And The Times of London, with classic British stiff upper lip, reported that the British icebreaker, an Antarctic survey ship, and the 80 British marines based at Moody Brook in the Falklands were "ready and willing to defend the islands. But faced with possible total opposition of 140,000 men of the Argentine armed forces [they] had only 'limited expectations' of success."

In the hours before dawn last Friday, a battalion of Argentine marines, aided by frogmen, landed at Cape Pembroke on East Falkland Island, while a smaller force took the South Georgias. The Falklands strike force easily secured the airport at Port Stanley, the capital of the islands, allowing seven C-130 transports to land and disgorge occupation troops. Soldiers then moved to attack the governor's residence. There they pounded buildings with machine guns and mortar fire, but met some resistance from the British marines. The British killed one Argentine marine captain and wounded two other officers. No British casualties were reported. "Defensive troops always have the advantage," an Argentine naval spokesman explained. "We were vulnerable

An Argentine warship off the South Georgias, the crisis zone: 'The British never give orders to surrender'

Editorial Atlantida—Gamma-Liaison

Ib Ohlsson—Newsweek



at first, but we rapidly overwhelmed them with our superior force."

Buenos Aires erupted in the biggest outburst of patriotic fervor since dictator Juan Perón's return to Argentina from Spanish exile in 1973. At a rally in the Plaza de Mayo, 12,000 people carried flags, sang national hymns and threw tons of confetti out of office windows. "The Argentine flag flies again in the Malvinas," said a jubilant communiqué from the junta. "Mission accomplished." The junta promised to respect the "rights and way of life" of the kelpers, who were pronounced reluctant citizens of a new Argentine province. A new governor, Gen. Benjamin Menéndez, was installed, and English-speaking aides were dispatched to assist him. Port Stanley was renamed Puerto Rivero, after Antonio Rivero, an Argentine who led the resistance to the British takeover of the islands in 1833. As for Governor Hunt and the marines, officials reported that they had surrendered and been airlifted to Montevideo, Uruguay, where they were turned over to British authorities.

The *fait accompli* left the British frustrated and humiliated. Asked if British marines had been given orders to surrender, Defense Secretary John Nott snapped: "The British never give orders to anyone to surrender." Thatcher addressed the first emergency Saturday session of Parliament since the Suez crisis of 1956, and offered a list of excuses. "The [rescue] ships could not possibly have got to Port Stanley before the invasion," she said to jeers from the opposition and even from members of her Tory party. The only way to prevent such invasions, Thatcher said, was to send large fleets of ships thousands of miles the moment the least threat arose. "No government has been able to do that," said the Prime Minister. "The cost would be enormous."

Trousers Down: The Labor opposition denounced Thatcher for scuttling conventional naval forces at a quickening rate to help pay for a $13.3 billion Trident nuclear submarine program. The Tory Prime Minister has "crippled the Royal Navy," fumed Labor's deputy leader Dennis Healey, adding that the Argentines had caught the British Government "with its trousers down." Argentina's aggression stirred backbenchers on both sides of the British Parliament to a fighting pitch. "If the [Argentine] troops are not withdrawn within the next ten to fourteen days," said Tory M.P. Sir Peter Emery, "then a state of war should exist between Argentina and the British people." Thatcher herself stopped short of suggesting that the British would try to retake the islands by force. But with the rhetoric heating up on both sides, the showdown that began as comic opera didn't seem quite so funny anymore.

KIM ROGAL with RICHARD KESSLER in Buenos Aires and TONY CLIFTON in London

Havakuk Levison

Rejectionists wade ashore at Yamit to confront Israeli troops: A feud in the family

ISRAEL

Last Stand in the Sinai

Palestinian violence subsided on the West Bank last week, but Israel's hard-pressed government still faced an explosive challenge from its own family. In the Sinai settlement of Yamit, 3,000 Jewish squatters barricaded themselves inside buildings and warned they would resist eviction when the last strip of occupied desert is returned to Egypt this month—even if it means spilling Jewish blood. "I certainly see the possibility of death in the showdown with the army," said Chaim Daniels, 19, a husky New Yorker who arrived in Israel only six months ago. "I'm writing a lot of letters." Yehuda Victor, 19, a religious Jew from Los Angeles who wore a white prayer shawl as he stood guard, boasted that "for us, there is no limit to resistance. There is no way the army will get us out of here alive."

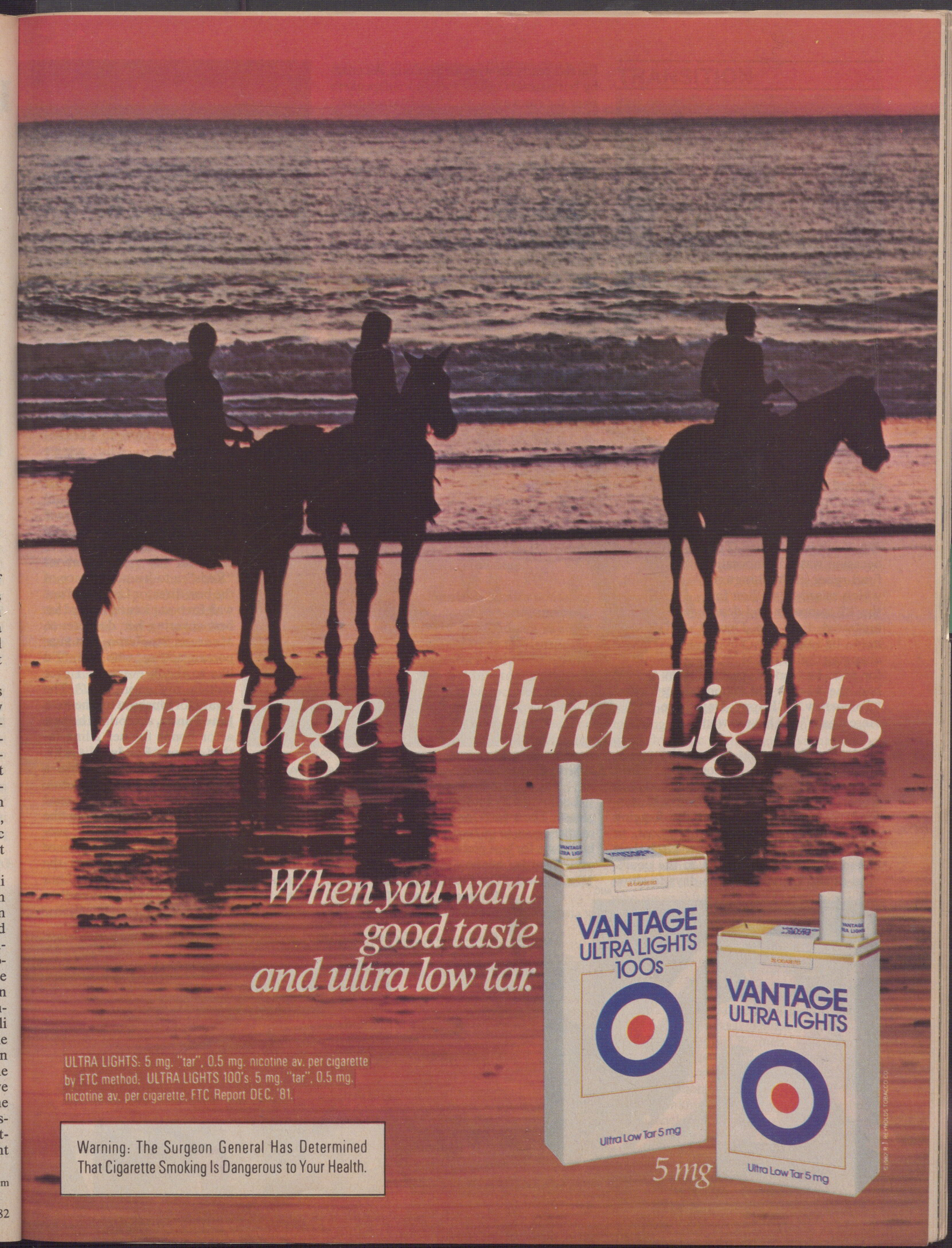
The resistance to the Sinai pullout had its theatrical moments. Last week, after the Israeli Army closed the Sinai to unauthorized civilians, a group of 70 rejectionists sailed down from Tel Aviv in five rented pleasure boats and tried to slip ashore near Yamit in rubber dinghies. Israeli patrol boats intercepted the small invasion fleet, but at least one of the landing craft made it to the beach. Ashore, the would-be infiltrators were met by Israeli troops, who sent most of them back home after a brief scuffle.

Inside Yamit, squatters geared up for psychological warfare. If soldiers try to take Yamit by force, the settlers plan to broadcast the prerecorded screams of terrified children over a loudspeaker. They also had recordings of a high-pitched voice—resembling that of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon—countermanding the evacuation. Almost every night new squatters—many of them teen-agers from Israeli religious schools—slipped past roadblocks. "Each day we're here is a net gain," says Ella Weizman of the Stop the Withdrawal Movement. "We still hope the government will change its mind at the last minute."

Delays: The majority of Sinai settlers were ready to move back to Israel, but they were profoundly demoralized. The government rounded up 250 trucks and 220 shipping containers to haul the settlers' possessions out of the Sinai, and the Knesset approved generous compensation payments: $300,000 for each evacuated farm and $75,000 for salaried employees. Still, the settlers were bitter over bureaucratic delays in finding them new homes, and at least some of them planned to emigrate.

Despite the heat in the Sinai, the Israeli Government enjoyed temporary relief from its recent headaches on the West Bank. In the Galilee, Israeli Arabs observed Land Day, an annual event recalling violent demonstrations in 1976 protesting Israeli expropriations. Violence was minimal, but for the first time, West Bank Palestinians joined in the demonstrations. "They're our brethren," said Mohammed Kiwan, an Israeli Arab, of the growing solidarity between the 620,000 Israeli Arabs and the 1.2 million occupied Palestinians. "When we see the Israeli soldiers shooting their children, we feel revolted and sick. After all, we're the same people." For the moment, the Palestinians seemed satisfied with passive resistance—while watching the Israelis fight among themselves in the Sinai.

ANGUS DEMING with MILAN J. KUBIC in Jerusalem


Vantage Ultra Lights
When you want good taste and ultra low tar.
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ULTRA LIGHTS: 5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method; ULTRA LIGHTS 100's: 5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report DEC. '81.
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

NEWSMAKERS

Bruce Hoertel

'Annie' with a Democratic 'Daddy': New tune

He sort of looks like Daddy Warbucks, except for all the hair. Anyway, **Becky Snyder** of Broadway's "Annie" seemed at home as she climbed into the ample lap of House Speaker **Thomas P.** (Tip) **O'Neill** and warbled, "I Don't Need Anything But You" into his ear. The occasion was a Democratic fund-raiser in Washington, which raised $1 million for the '82 campaign and demonstrated that the Dems may be thinking about changing their tune, at least for now. Instead of speeches, they had the 11-year-old moppet sing "Tomorrow." "Happy Days Are Here Again" will have to wait.

Photos by Daniel Simon—Gamma-Liaison

Pierre Vauthey—Sygma

Saint Laurent, Chanel, Dior: Socialists give fashion a boost

"Isn't it funny that it took the Socialists to give us fashion folks some class?" said Texas retailer Robert Sakowitz in Paris. The new Mitterrand government has given the flagging French fashion industry a big boost, in part by inviting the *couturiers* to pitch their blue-and-white-striped tents in the courtyard of the Louvre for nine days to show the fall ready-to-wear collections. As nearby bureaucrats tried to work, loudspeakers over the runways blared "La Marseillaise" to a disco beat for the parading mannequins. The shape of things to come: more ruffled elegance and slinky dresses; skinny skirts, either above the knee or long, as **Ungaro** showed them; big tops, with Dolman sleeves or a blouson look, such as **Marc Bohan's** suit jacket for Dior; bright colors, like those **Yves Saint Laurent** used in his folkloric patterned knits. There were lots of black and gray, too, as in Chanel's tidy rendering of a classic sweater set, worn laden with the house's ubiquitous gold chains. "Purer and cleaner, and not gimmicky," summed up one fashion maven. Beamed Minister of Culture **Jack Lang:** "This event proves we are not only a country of justice, but of beauty."

ABC

Columbia landing with chase plane in New Mex

Ladies and gentlemen, the envelope please. The award for upsetting the handicappers goes to "Chariots of Fire," a dark-horse win for best picture at the 54th Academy Awards, beating out front runners "Reds" and "On Golden Pond." **David Puttnam,** the "Chariots" producer, buckled at the knees when he stood up to accept. Award for most succinct form of gratitude: to **Katharine Hepburn,** who wasn't there to pick up her fourth best actress award. When asked for a quote, she said, "'Thank you' will suffice." Award for grace under pressure: to **Warren Beatty,** who had the wisdom to cram all his remarks about "Reds" into his acceptance of the best director Oscar and not wait for best picture. Award for best covering her derrière: to **Maureen Stapleton,** best supporting actress, who said, "I'd like to thank everyone I ever met in my entire life." The award for mushiest moment: to **Jane Fonda,** accepting the best actor honor for her ailing father, **Henry Fonda.** His wife, **Shirlee,** said he "cried like a baby" when he heard the news. Award for discombobulating the cue-card holders: to **Bette Midler,** who stole the show with her impromptu remarks in presenting the best song award. Of the nominee "Endless Love," she intoned, "From the endless movie, 'Endless Love'." Without Bette, it would have been an endless evening.

Endless eve: Midler; Stapleton; presenter Loretta Young with 'Chariots'

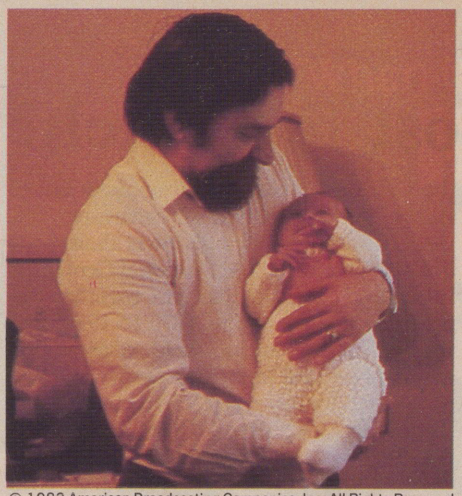
Jeff Slocomb—Borsari

Phil Roach—Photoreporters

James L. Long Assoc.

Mexico: 'A beautiful flying machine'

After an eight-day orbit in space—with a one-day delay in landing due to dust storms on the airstrip—the 100-ton space shuttle Columbia came back to earth for the third time. The landing at White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico was almost as smooth as a standard plane's, except for two hitches: the landing gear didn't lower until the craft was only 100 feet off the ground and on touchdown the nose suddenly lurched up. Nonetheless, astronaut **C. Gordon Fullerton** proclaimed the world's first reusable spacecraft "an unbelievably beautiful flying machine."



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Walesa and baby: Man in a golden cage

Lech Walesa has finally had the pleasure of meeting his seventh child, **Maria Wiktoria,** who was born after he was interned under Polish martial law. In an exclusive photograph shown on ABC-TV's "World News Tonight," the Solidarity leader was seen cradling his two-month-old baby, who was christened in Gdansk two weeks ago without her father present. **Danuta Walesa** brought her daughter for a two-day visit with Lech a week ago in a suburban Warsaw villa about 30 miles from where he is normally held. Since he was taken captive, Walesa has grown a beard—and a paunch. "Despite his excellent health and high spirits, he is sometimes impatient," says his wife. "He feels very isolated. He feels he is in a golden cage."

Jack Kightlinger—The White House

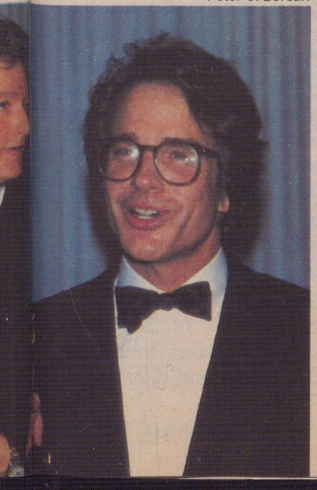
Nancy: Rags from riches

Nancy Reagan's acting career wasn't exactly memorable, but no one can say that the First Lady isn't a trouper. At their annual Gridiron dinner, Washington journalists had just lampooned her pricey sartorial tastes with a song to the tune of "Second Hand Rose" when she came onstage wearing a frumpy get-up of mismatched gingham and rubber boots. To the same tune, she sang: "Even though they tell me I'm no longer queen/Did Ronnie have to buy me that new sewing machine?/Secondhand clothes, I'm wearing secondhand clothes/I sure hope Ed Meese sews." For an encore she smashed a plate that had been painted with her new china pattern.

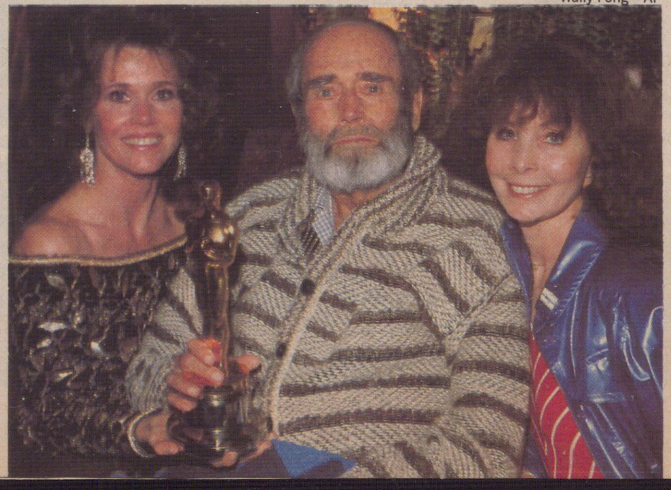
CATHLEEN McGUIGAN

producer Puttnam and director Hugh Hudson; Beatty; Jane, Henry and Shirlee Fonda

Peter C. Borsari



Wally Fong—AP



TRANSITION

DIED: Walter Hallstein, 80, the first president of the European Common Market; in Stuttgart, West Germany, March 29. The West German diplomat helped shape Bonn's foreign policy in the 1950s. His strategy, which became known as the "Hallstein doctrine," called for West Germany to sever diplomatic relations with any country that recognized East Germany. But he is best remembered as a passionate advocate of European unity, heading the Common Market for nine years.

Gen. **Nathan F. Twining,** 84, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; of heart failure, in San Antonio, Texas, March 29. During his 44-year career, Twining fought in the 1916 Mexican border war, won the Distinguished Flying Cross in World War II and commanded the Twentieth Air Force, whose B-29s dropped the atomic bombs on Japan. As head of the Joint Chiefs from 1957 to 1960, he untangled several longstanding interservice disputes and gained a reputation for a common-sense approach to military policy.

Carl Orff, 86, highly innovative German composer and developer of a unique method of musical education; of cancer, in Munich, March 29. His 1936 masterwork, "Carmina Burana," is a collection of earthy thirteenth-century poems set to music and arranged for voices and orchestra. After seeing it performed, Orff ordered all of his previous compositions destroyed. He is also known internationally for the five-volume series "Music for Children," which he originally published in the early 1930s. His teaching method stresses simplicity and uses rhythmic games and gymnastics to convey musical concepts.

Harriet Stratemeyer Adams, 89, author of more than 200 juvenile thrillers chronicling the adventures of Nancy Drew, Tom Swift Jr. and the Hardy Boys; of a heart attack, in Pottersville, N.J., March 27. Writing under several pseudonyms, Adams populated her fast-paced fiction with affluent adolescents who never faltered in their crusade against evil in its more presentable forms. She also plotted the stories for some 1,200 additional titles in the series created by her father more than 50 years ago.

Dr. **Helene Deutsch,** 97, the first female psychoanalyst analyzed by Sigmund Freud; in Cambridge, Mass., March 29. Her 1944 "The Psychology of Women" was regarded for many years as a definitive study. But Deutsch later was attacked by feminists for her contention that three essential traits of womankind are narcissism, passivity and masochism. The controversy overshadowed her most original contribution: a description of the "as if" personality, a disorder involving the absolute need to identify with another.

Does College Cost Too Much?

Alfred Behm, an engineer who lives in Downers Grove, Ill., has two problems: a son at Northwestern University and a daughter at Augustana College. His wife, Linda, has taken on a part-time job, boosting the family income to $50,000, but they have nevertheless had to take out a second mortgage and do custodial work for a local church to make ends meet. Gerald Cohen, a Massachusetts state representative, announced last month that he will not seek re-election in November because his $28,000 salary cannot get his four children through college. Joan McCarten, a San Jose schoolteacher, has one daughter at Berkeley and another will transfer next year from a private to a state school. The third, a high-school senior, will have to live at home and go to a local public college. "I don't know how I am going to cope," says McCarten. "I certainly didn't think it would be this hard."

Paying for college has never been easy. But now, with tuition rising faster than at any time in the last decade, with recession chipping away at personal prosperity and with the Reagan Administration cutting back on Federal student aid, the pinch seems tighter than ever. "People used to say the cost of a year in college was equal to the cost of a Chevrolet," says one father with a daughter in college and another in line. "Now people are complaining about how expensive a Chevrolet is."

Parents may be surprised to discover that until quite recently college costs have actually *not* risen as fast as inflation. A tabulation of average student charges compiled by the College Entrance Examination Board shows that, adjusted for inflation, this year's tuitions are slightly lower than those of 1972-73 (chart). The National Center for Education Statistics has put together figures showing that from 1970 to 1980, private-university tuition held constant at about 32 percent of median family income, while public-university charges declined from 15 to 12.9 percent. "There is a perception that somehow the cost of college has zoomed way out of sight compared with everything else," says Charles Saunders of the American Council on Education. "It really hasn't." What has happened is that middle-class families have been spoiled by the explosion of Federal student aid and by disposable incomes that have risen faster than inflation. Families that used to sacrifice for college began to think they could have it all—and college started competing with second homes and nice vacations in their budgets.

Harder Times: One problem now is that disposable incomes have stopped rising. By one estimate, more than two-thirds of the income gain in the last decade for couples in the 25- to 34-year-old age bracket came from wives' earnings. Yet high unemployment is now making it harder for families to add a spouse to the work force. "They're not getting richer, and they're working harder to stay at the same level," says Williams College economics Prof. Michael McPherson. The College Board recognizes that times are harder. For the last three years it has lowered the recommended family contribution to college costs in deference to inflation.

Meanwhile, after a decade in which college tuition stayed fairly constant when adjusted for inflation, it has been galloping ahead of inflation since the fall of 1980 and will probably continue to do so (chart, page 57). Last year, with inflation running at 8.9 percent (it has since cooled to about 3 percent), private schools raised tuition for 1981-82 an average of 13 percent, according to the College Board's survey—the largest increase since 1971-72. The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges found that its schools raised prices by 17.7 percent, the biggest jump since 1969-70.

Slippage: For the colleges, it is a case of chickens coming home to roost. Many kept tuition, which almost never covers the full cost of education, artificially low through the 1970s by deferring maintenance and skimping on faculty salaries. According to one estimate, at least 25 percent of all college facilities now need repair or replacement, and economist Kent Halstead of the National Institute of Education reports that faculty buying power has slipped 21 percent since 1973. Most private schools have been reluctant to pass along all their increasing costs to consumers, partly for fear of losing students to the public sector. But, as Halstead says, "there's got to be a day of reckoning"—and it seems to have arrived.

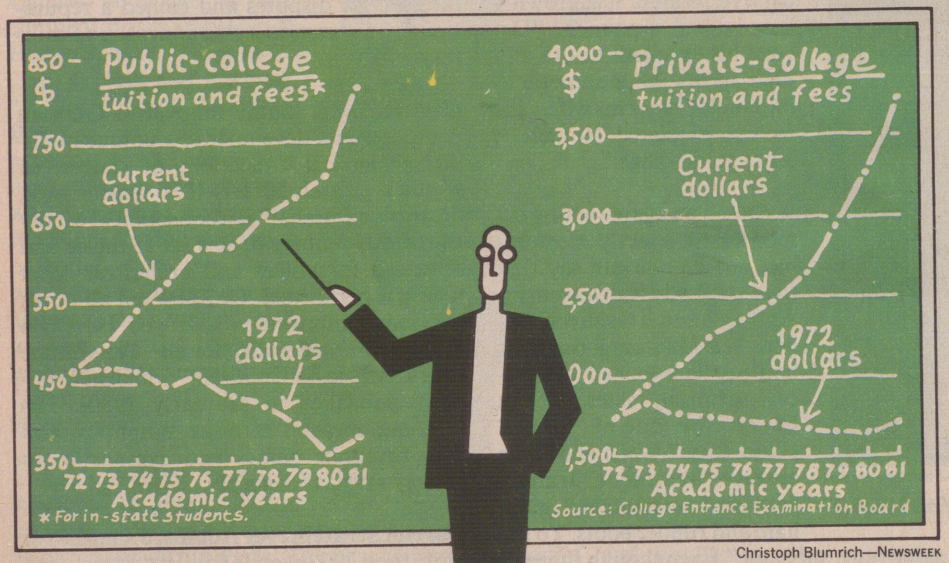
Parents and students both say that it does, but the dramatic rise in tuition began only recently.

State schools—which enroll 78 percent of the nation's college students—are often having problems of their own. Thirteen Western states boosted tuition an average 19 percent this year, led by the University of Washington's huge 54 percent hike—a reflection of the lagging aerospace and lumber industries. Every state in the industrial Midwest is hurting. A recent national survey conducted by the Education Commission of the States found that an overwhelming majority of state and college officials expect state appropriations for education to lag behind inflation for the next three years; as a result, they believe, tuitions will continue to rise.

All this has reinforced the outcry against cutbacks in Federal aid to students. The Administration has proposed cutting or eliminating Federal scholarship programs and imposing stricter requirements on Guaranteed Student Loans. "I don't understand why the government doesn't support kids who want an education and who do their best," says McCarten of San Jose. "With education so expensive, you need loans. It's not a gift. It'll be paid back." But

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

Inflation has pushed tuition to record levels. But the cost crunch is not quite what it seems; measured in constant dollars, college costs actually declined slightly between 1972 and 1981.



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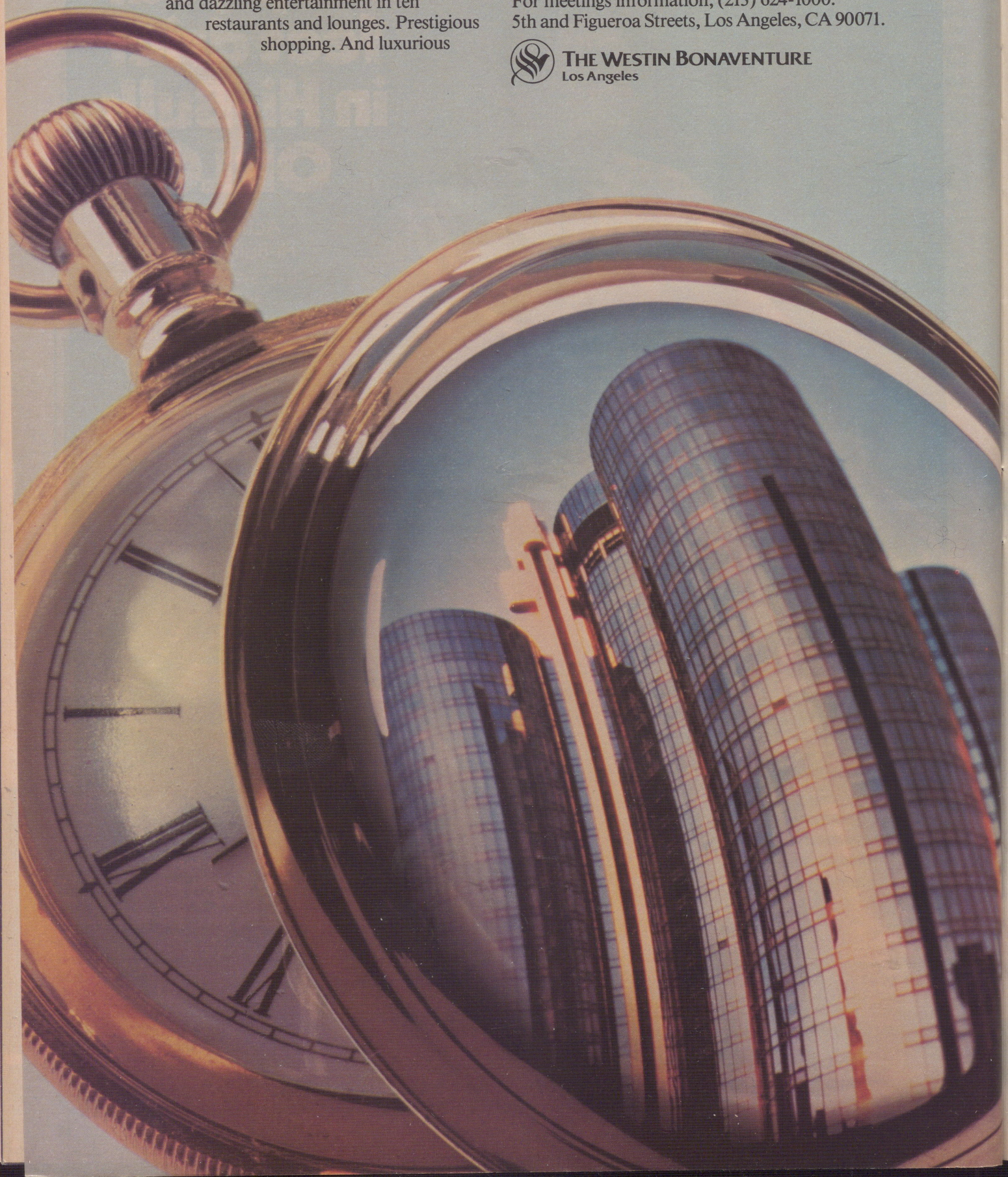

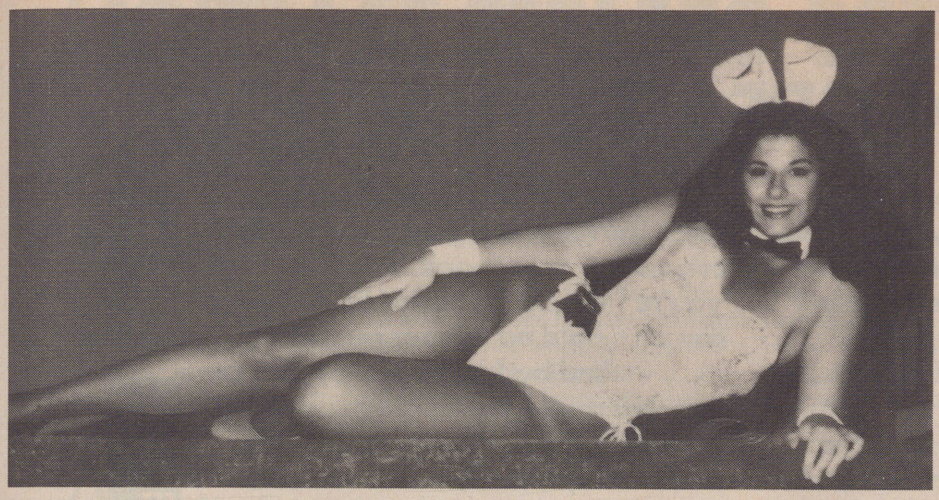

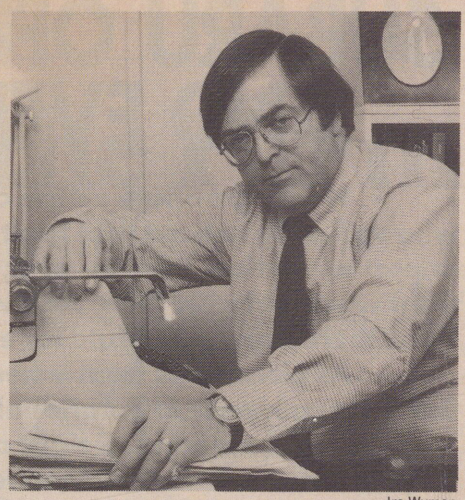

Ira Wyman

Student Bedway working as a Playboy bunny, parent Curtis: A shifting of attitudes about family responsibilities

of course it *is,* in part, a gift: loans have been made at subsidized rates.

The crunch has begun to change some attitudes about the value of education. Now that a college degree is no longer a guarantee of a good job, some parents are less willing to pay top dollar for a private education, and those with several children are suddenly realizing that the younger ones may not be able to go at all. "There used to be a relationship between where you went to school and how much you made when you got out; nobody gambles with that anymore," says Danny Gruenberg, a Los Angeles teacher who refuses to mortgage his home to send his son to a private school. Public universities like Ohio State are beginning to get applications from students who once would have attended private schools.

'A Luxury': For Michael Curtis, an editor of The Atlantic, the major issue raised by the cost of college is the responsibility of parents to their children. "The burden must be shifted fairly substantially to the students," he says, terming costs "almost hopelessly out of control." Curtis, who has three children, acknowledges that such a move would probably reduce the number of college students. But he thinks that might be a good thing. "Going to college has always been something of a luxury," he says. "Not everyone who wants it should get a university education." In a sense, the American population may be overeducated because there are not enough college-level jobs for all the college graduates.

Peg and Joe Hall of Derby, Ind., have always believed in a college education for their six children, to enrich them but not necessarily to make them rich. Now they "just juggle" with three at Indiana University. They used to drive up to the Bloomington campus occasionally to take the kids out to dinner; last time they carried along ground beef, hamburger buns and Fritos and had a cookout in one daughter's dorm room. They're determined that their youngest children's options will not be limited. But Nancy, 17, has decided to go to a two-year computer school instead of college. Her parents haven't objected. "Previously we would have urged her a little more to go to college," says Peg. "Economics have changed our attitude."

Most parents are still trying hard to cope. "It seems like a lot to give up the comforts you've been used to," says Hazel Robinson, a Chicago schoolteacher whose husband is a plumber and who has a daughter in college. "But college is an invaluable investment." William Vitez, a suburban Cleveland father who is separated and has two children in college, agrees but doesn't think saving would have done much good. "We'd have given up everything for twenty years and it wouldn't have paid for one year's expenses," he says. Instead, he left teaching for an administrative position and took two extra jobs to pay the school bills—only to find he was less eligible for financial aid as a result.

Students working their way through school don't have it much easier. Todd Parton is a 20-year-old junior at Indiana University of Pennsylvania whose parents can't afford to contribute anything to his education. This year he couldn't get a loan and his on-campus job was cut back. During summer vacation he will try to make up some of the money by selling encyclopedias. Jacqueline Bedway, a Dickinson College junior who says she can see the panic in the eyes of underclassmen, worked last summer as a Playboy bunny in Atlantic City. "People do a lot of weird things to pay for college," she says. "I'm just getting out in time."

The situation may not always be so bad. An economic recovery would ease the squeeze on many families, and Congress seems likely to rebuff the Administration's attempt to curtail financial aid this year. But for many students it will be too late. Last month Harvard, one of the few colleges that has a policy of guaranteeing full aid to everyone it accepts, reported that the percentage of applicants whose parents did not go to college—a fair indicator of socioeconomic status—has dropped from nearly 26 percent three years ago to 16 percent today. Apparently those students have simply presorted themselves out of the academic competition, convinced that Harvard is just too rich for their blood. That is the biggest danger: that more and more students will no longer even seek the best possible education.

DENNIS A. WILLIAMS with LUCY HOWARD in Washington, SYLVESTER MONROE in Chicago, PATRICIA KING in New York, RORY O'CONNOR in Boston and bureau reports

PINCHING THE POCKETBOOK

Though circumstances vary from one part of the country to another, tuition at many schools is now going up faster than the rate of inflation.

	1981-82 tuition and fees	Percent increase from previous year	1982-83 tuition and fees	Percent increase from previous year
STATE*				
University of Minnesota	$1,263	11.7%	$1,551	22.8%
University of Washington	1,059	54%	1,176	11%
Arizona State University	650	8.3%	710	9.2%
University of Texas at Austin	420	0%	420	0%
PRIVATE				
Princeton University	$7,250	15.1%	$8,380	15.6%
University of Southern California	6,304	16.1%	7,000†	11%
Dickinson College (Pa.)	5,840	19.5%	6,635	13.6%
Rice University	3,200	10.3%	3,500	9.4%

*For in-state freshmen. †Estimate.

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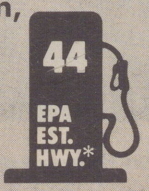

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Down and Out on the Farm

The line of brightly colored pickup trucks stretched more than a mile down the road from Russ Morfey's farm near Gardner, Ill. Promptly at 10 a.m. the auctioneer began his sing-song chant, and with Morfey, his wife and his son sadly watching, more than 400 farmers from six surrounding states began to pick over the pieces of the once prosperous farm. Five hours later everything had been sold: a water hose brought in 50 cents, a combine sold for $26,000 and 23 head of cattle went for $450 apiece. The total proceeds came to $125,000, but Morfey, 56, needed all but $30,000 of that to pay off his debts. "This is one of the saddest days of my life," he said. "This is all I ever worked for and now it's gone."

By all accounts, Morfey was a good farmer; he'd made a living at it for 33 years. But the worst economic conditions to hit the Farm Belt since the 1930s are wiping out good farmers and marginal operators alike. A worldwide recession has crimped demand and shoved agricultural prices sharply lower at a time when near-record interest rates are pushing up costs to levels that many find simply intolerable. The squeeze is expected to reduce total farm net income this year to $16 billion, only about half that of 1979. Worse still, in terms of 1967 purchasing power (chart), farm profits are expected to fall to $5.5 billion, the worst year ever recorded. "If this ain't a depression, it'll do till we get into one," says farmer Monte Kurtenbach of Essex, Ill.

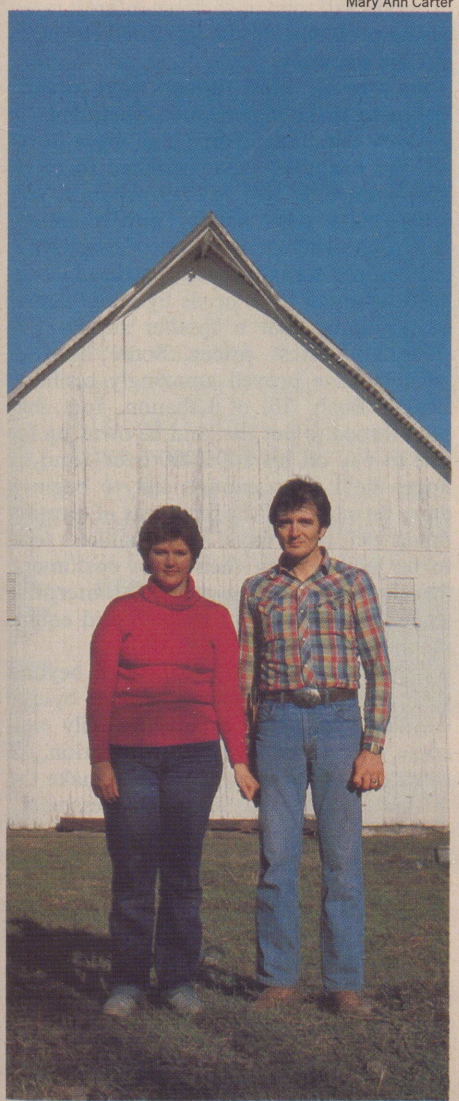
Despite such alarming statistics, farmers and their dependents are nowhere near the destitute levels of the 1930s. Real farm income may have dropped below that of the Great Depression, but there are far fewer farms today and far fewer people living on them—and myriad government programs can be triggered should any real emergency occur. Nonetheless the booming farm industry of the 1970s has turned into a disaster zone. Buoyed by high prices and profits for most of that decade—much of it spurred by heavy demand from overseas—farmers expanded rapidly, borrowing to the hilt against land values bid out of sight by a speculative bubble. Then, just when optimism was at its peak, demand suddenly began to slip. After jumping more than sixfold between 1972 and 1981, export sales are expected to drop this year to $42.5 billion from $43.8 billion in 1981. Soybeans, which brought more than $9 a bushel in 1974, are now selling for about $5.88 a bushel.

In the last year alone, corn prices have dropped 26 percent, wheat prices 12 percent. Many farmers found themselves borrowing more heavily simply to stay in business and some have reached the end of the row. Farmers' debts now total $194.5 billion, more than twice the amount in 1976—and today each $1 of farm income must support debt of more than $12, versus a $1-to-$2 ratio as recently as 1973. The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA)

A global recession, falling food prices and high interest rates are causing the worst crisis since the Depression.

The Wyricks, Pierson: From prosperity to economic nightmare

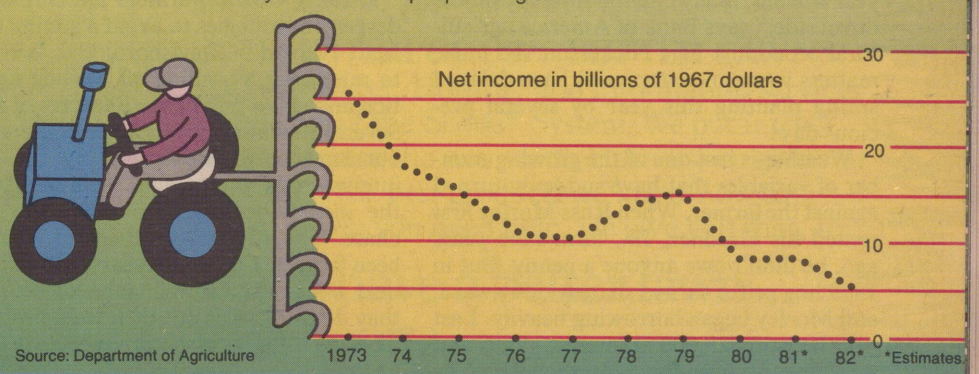
Mary Ann Carter



Thomas S. England

REAPING A HARVEST OF DESPAIR

Though the real income of American farmers has dropped below that in the Great Depression, there are far fewer farms today and far fewer people living on them.



Source: Department of Agriculture

Christoph Blumrich—NEWSWEEK

Jeff Lowenthal—NEWSWEEK

Auctioning off Morfey's farm: 'One of the saddest days of my life'

reports that 58 percent of the loans it has made to help farmers meet operating costs are delinquent. The FmHA foreclosed on 543 farmers in the five months from October through February; in all of calendar 1980 it had foreclosed on only 133. In the same five months, 1,315 farmers liquidated voluntarily, against only 127 in all of 1980. "I've been in this business for 43 years and I've never seen things so bad," says Art Feller, an auctioneer from Cissna Park, Ill., who views his booming activity with ambivalence. "I'm depressed. I feel like I'm a funeral director."

Drought: A wake atmosphere has settled over farmers from one end of the nation to the other. In Georgia, farmers are still trying to recover from four straight years of drought that began in 1977; in 1980 the average farmer in the Peach State earned $705. In Colorado the state agriculture department currently estimates that the average farm or ranch in 1982 will show a meager profit of $3,000. California grows more than 200 different crops, and because of that great diversity it is faring better than other states—but only relatively. "In recent history there hasn't been a year when so many commodities are on the down side," says Bank of America agricultural economist Eric Nickerson. To make matters worse, nonstop rains have delayed spring planting this year by several precious days.

Weather is just one of the growing number of variables that have suddenly turned against the farmer. When Russ Morfey first rented his Gardner, Ill., farm nine years ago, he didn't owe anyone a penny. But in 1979 hog prices turned sharply downward, and Morfey began borrowing heavily. Last year he paid $23,000 in interest alone, and when it came time this winter to talk to the Production Credit Association about borrowing money for this year's operating expenses, Morfey learned that his line of credit had dried up. He could have borrowed more at the local bank recently, but he was put off by the 17 percent interest rate. "For the last two years I had lost money farming. I wasn't going to lose everything I had, so I decided to get out."

Morfey escaped with some equity intact. Others have fared far worse. Larry Wyrick bought his first farmland, 102 acres, near Sharpsville, Ind., in 1972 and began riding a boom in agricultural prices. "People started calling to ask me to farm their ground," he recalls. At his peak, Wyrick was farming 1,600 acres, about 400 of which he owned, and he and his wife, Donna, were driving a 1981 Lincoln Continental. But last week the Wyricks were driving their Lincoln back and forth between the farm and Indianapolis to see their lawyer. Crushed by $1.4 million in debt, they are planning to go into bankruptcy. "At the end," says their attorney, Daniel F. Evans Jr., "they'll have the clothes on their backs."

Closing Down: Farmers are employing desperate strategies to avoid a similar fate. Matt Pierson of Davisboro, Ga., is trying to raise cash by selling off his hog operation and about half of his 700 acres of land. Several potential buyers have come along but have been discouraged by the high interest rates they would have to pay on the money borrowed to make the purchase. The 40-year-old Pierson, who has been farming for twenty years, will find out next week if he can refinance his debt. "If they don't close us out then we'll probably have to close ourselves out next fall," he says.

Farmers and their supporters in Congress have been trying to get President Reagan's support for an emergency aid package that might include higher loan-support prices, an increase in government loans, a moratorium on foreclosures and subsidized loans to buyers from overseas. "If things don't get better in the next six months," warns president John Stencel of the Rocky Mountain Farmers Union, "we're going to have the biggest exodus in agriculture since the '30s." But a bipartisan group of 42 representatives, including Democrat Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota, says the President has repeatedly refused to see them. "He has time to meet with the National Hockey League All Stars and with the Clemson University football team and time to go to Barbados," grouses Daschle. "Why doesn't he have enough time for us?" Unless the farmer's plight becomes far worse, there is little room in Reagan's red-ink budget for any bailout funds for farmers, and the Administration can only continue to hope that its economic program will soon push down interest rates, easing problems on the farm and throughout the economy.

As a result, most farmers have already begun to make significant adjustments in the way they farm. Some California farmers, for example, have switched to crops like grain that cost less to produce, and others have gone heavily into tomatoes, noting the current shortage of canned tomatoes and tomato paste. Cattle ranchers have trimmed their herds by about 4 percent, hoping that a smaller supply will eventually boost prices. Some hard-hit farmers have proved amazingly resilient. Danny Bush, 36, of Lebanon, Ind., has been forced to put the land he owns up for sale to pay off his $400,000 debt—and he hopes he'll have enough left to begin a dairy farm, one of the few areas of farming doing well these days. Many bankers tend to be lenient with their farm customers: foreclosure is often a profitless enterprise since the market for farmland and equipment is so depressed.

Farmers who clearly expanded beyond their means will continue to fall by the wayside, and some experts actually welcome that form of natural selection. "I think the whole thing is going to make the farmer a more sophisticated businessman," says Will Schakel, director of the commodity department for the Indiana Farm Bureau. Perhaps so, but if the expertise they develop during the crisis is in any way related to the depth of the adversity that they feel, the farmers who survive the current blood bath will be candidates for the agricultural hall of fame.

DAVID PAULY with DONNA FOOTE and SYLVESTER MONROE in Chicago, JERRY BUCKLEY in Washington, VERN E. SMITH in Atlanta and bureau reports

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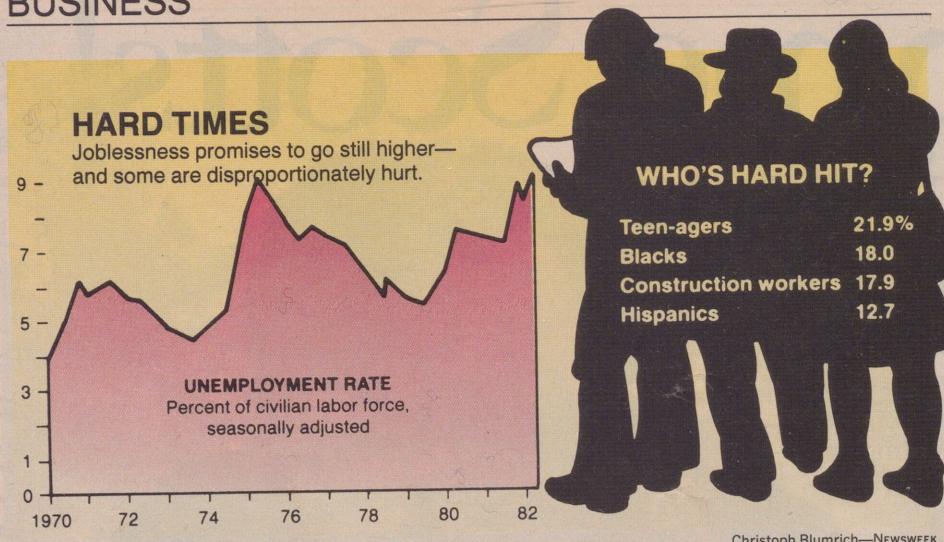


Christoph Blumrich—NEWSWEEK

Unemployment Hits a High

For weeks President Reagan has chafed at charges that he is insensitive to the suffering caused by the current recession—and last week at his televised news conference, he said again that it wasn't so. He singled out the plight of farmers, small-business men and the construction and real-estate industries, and professed a special solicitude for the nation's jobless. "There's nothing that strikes my heart more than the unemployed," the President said. He had plenty of cause for concern: late in the week the Labor Department reported that unemployment in March had matched its post-war high of 9 percent (chart), leaving 9.9 million of the nation's 110 million workers out of a job.

The President promised no special relief to ease the pain. "The answer to this has to be in a recovery to the economy," he said, repeating his view that the eight-month-old recession was finally coming to an end. But another dose of economic news led some to wonder. The Commerce Department reported that its index of leading indicators—designed to predict future economic trends—had unexpectedly dropped by three-tenths of a point in February, its tenth consecutive month of decline. Though the drop was smaller than recent monthly averages, it renewed speculation that more bad news would be coming. And from Washington to Wall Street, it fed a growing belief that stern new measures must be taken to pull the economy out of the recession.

The economy's continued downward course left many experts bewildered. "This is clearly a 1980s-style recession and nobody knows what that really means," said E.F. Hutton chief economist Edward Yardeni. After so long and deep a downturn the economy should now be poised for a rebound, says economist Alan Greenspan, one of Reagan's top private advisers. But, he says, businesses are still drawing down inventories and laying off employees, and commodity prices continue to decline. Most previous recoveries were led by a revival of consumer spending, says economist Irwin Kellner of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. But with both new home and auto prices out of the range of many consumers, any upturn that may develop will probably be a feeble one.

Shortfall: According to most economists, interest rates are simply too high to permit new business expansion. Battered by the recession, companies are still being forced to roll over staggering amounts of short-term debt, keeping pressure on short-term interest rates. Meanwhile, the prospect of massive Federal budget deficits is keeping long-term rates intolerably high. The Administration has privately conceded that the fiscal 1983 deficit could amount to $124 billion, or $32 billion more than it had estimated just eight weeks before. And contrary to the Administration's estimate of a $72 billion shortfall in 1985, the Congressional Budget Office now sets the deficit at an extraordinary $296 billion.

At his press conference, the President seemed to signal his readiness to entertain suggestions on how to reduce the deficit, but he committed himself to little more. On Capitol Hill the Republican leadership scrambled to devise a bipartisan package of cuts that could be unveiled after Congress

Pity the Poor Old IRS

As April 15 approaches, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service is not a likely candidate for sympathy. But like millions of ordinary taxpayers, the IRS is having difficulty in coming up with enough cash. Last year tax cheats swindled Uncle Sam out of an estimated $87 billion—up from nearly $30 billion in 1976—and the recession's toll on businesses and individuals this year may mean more tax returns filed late than before. Worst of all, a chorus of critics is laying much of the blame for the poor performance squarely at the doorstep of the IRS itself.

The IRS is ill equipped to cope with the unwillingness of some of the nation's 144 million taxpayers to make good on their obligations. In fiscal 1981 returns involving illegal tax shelters may have totaled 248,000, up more than a quarter from 1980. And the IRS is still waiting to collect almost $21 billion from 15 million firms and individuals who didn't pay their taxes on time last year. Despite penalties and a tax-deductible 20 percent interest charge, many recession-squeezed corporations find stalling on their returns a way to preserve badly needed cash. "A lot of them have their backs to the wall," says William Anderson of the General Accounting Office, one of the agency's most persistent critics. "You can bet they are probably taking their tax money and plowing it right back into their businesses."

Despite those difficulties, the GAO and others charge that the IRS has been too lax in its pursuit of recalcitrant taxpayers. The agency, they say, typically allows months to pass before billing delinquent taxpayers—and it often grants easy, long-term repayment schedules to guilty taxpayers who can afford to pay up faster. Critics also claim that the agency is undermanned and so far behind that it has yet to rewrite 378 sections of the tax code rendered obsolete by years-old changes in the tax law—not including the 200 sections it must overhaul as a result of the tax bill passed last summer.

IRS commissioner Roscoe Egger argues that the 3,300 new employees the IRS will be allowed to hire under the Administration's budget proposals should allow it to keep pace with the growing workload. In the meantime, the agency is pushing for stiffer penalties against delinquents and tax cheats and for the passage of legislation requiring businesses to deliver more information on interest payments, stock dividends, capital gains and tips to the IRS. That would give the agency more ammunition to enforce tax compliance—and combined with other measures, it could help yield $20 billion more in revenues over three years. But until the agency gets its own house in order, all the information in the world is likely to be of only marginal help in filling Uncle Sam's Treasury.

returns from Easter recess. Its elements would probably include minor cuts in defense spending and some new taxes that might reduce the deficit by $20 billion.

But in an election year it is prudent to wonder whether Congress and the Administration will agree on a more sweeping package of cuts and taxes that many economists think is necessary for a full recovery. White House chief of staff James A. Baker III consulted with Congressional leaders about a plan to limit cost-of-living hikes in social security and other entitlement programs to a maximum of 4 percent, and postpone increases scheduled for July until Oct. 1. Such a plan could save the Treasury $11 billion, but it could also mean less consumer spending to pull the economy out of recession. Democrats were also insisting that the third round of personal-tax cuts set for next year would have to be eliminated to stem $92 billion of projected losses to the Treasury in fiscal 1983. But although most Democrats and a gathering consensus of Republicans—with the notable exception of the President—agreed that more drastic measures were needed, neither party may be able to take such politically risky steps as tampering with social security or raising taxes.

In the end, it was possible that little would be done to halt the trend toward gargantuan government deficits until after November. If Reagan refuses to budge on his basic economic program, Congress may be too divided to forge a compromise. And if the economy suffers badly because of that failure, the voters may have the sad choice of blaming their hard times on the President—or their elected representatives on the Hill.

SUSAN DENTZER with CONNIE LESLIE in New York and CHRIS MA and GLORIA BORGER in Washington

Abbas—Gamma-Liaison

Cash-starved Nigeria: Threats of a cutoff to protect OPEC's weakest partner

Oil: A Saudi Ultimatum

The ultimatum was brutally direct. When the international oil giants operating in Nigeria drastically slashed their crude-oil production late last month—an assault that threatened to bring down OPEC's precarious price structure—Saudi Arabia swiftly retaliated with its most powerful weapon. Oil minister Sheik Ahmad Zaki Yamani threatened to shut off Saudi oil supplies if the companies didn't immediately resume their production in Nigeria. Such an embargo would almost certainly have plunged the world back into the nightmare of an oil panic—and the day after Yamani's threat, production surged in the Nigerian oil fields.

The Saudi's strong-arm tactics worked: OPEC's $34-a-barrel benchmark price remained intact and there were other signs last week that the recent slide in spot-market prices had slowed, bringing a precarious balance to the market after months of turmoil. "Clearly the Saudis are asserting their leadership and using the opportunity to give the appearance they are the saviors of OPEC," says Merrill Lynch oil analyst Constantine Fliakos. But the equilibrium remained fragile. The war between Iran and Iraq has heated up once again, Nigeria's economy is nearing collapse and oil demand remains severely depressed around the world.

The most immediate threat to OPEC is Nigeria's desperately overextended economy, and there is no guarantee that the Saudi victory last week will hold. Two years ago the Nigerian fields were producing 2.4 million barrels of oil a day, but by last week, production had plunged to barely more than 600,000 a day, leaving the nation starved for cash. Despite Nigeria's predicament, OPEC oil ministers meeting in an emergency session in Vienna last month refused to let their most vulnerable producer lower its $35.50-a-barrel price to compete with cheaper non-OPEC North Sea oil of comparable quality. As a consequence, Nigeria has become the proxy battleground where OPEC and the international oil companies are slugging it out to determine the price of world oil.

Some oil-industry executives were so confident Nigerian prices would soon crumble that they had ordered spare tankers to Lagos's harbor to wait for the cheaper oil. But once Yamani stepped in with his

Arf! Gimme a Virgin Bullshot

A former Madison Avenue advertising woman named Carol Graham has come up with what she hopes will be the rage of the doggie set: a canine cocktail.

The stuff is called Juicee Treat, and it consists of vitaminized sugar water that looks and smells like beef boullion—sort of a virgin bullshot. It sells for 99 cents a quart and can be lapped up straight or mixed with dry dog food. "It's not a frivolous product," insists the 51-year-old Graham. "In these recessionary times, I would never come out with a frivolous product, like a Hula-Hoop." She hopes to sell $3 million worth of Juicee Treat this year.

So far, Juicee Treat is not taking the dog world by storm. It has been on the shelves of 40 Sloan's Supermarkets in New York for four weeks. When asked if Juicee Treat was selling, chairman Jules Rose said: "Ain't yet." Al Jackson, an analyst for First Boston, says Graham should "save her money." To have any impact in the $2.7 billion-a-year dog-food market, Jackson says, she has to spend $15 million in advertising—and Graham's company, Rosebrand Products, is capitalized at only about $200,000. And Malcolm Kram, president elect of the Veterinary Medicine Association of New York City, says that even though Fido may go for Juicee Treat, it could upset the balanced diet that canned and dry dog foods provide. "Dogs may love it," he says, "but people love cigarettes."

THE BUSINESS AIRPLANE REPORTS NUMBER SEVEN IN A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS WITH EXECUTIVES ABOUT TO BUY AN AIRPLANE.

7

HOW TO PROTECT YOUR COMPANY'S MOST VALUABLE ASSETS FROM THE WEAR-AND-TEAR OF BUSINESS TRAVEL.

There never seem to be enough good management people to go around.

So, chances are, yours are spread a bit thinner than usual right now.

As a result, they've probably never needed to travel more–or more efficiently–than they do today.

Yet, the state of our public transportation system makes this next to impossible.

Airline cutbacks and deregulation have reduced access to more than 72 cities in just the last three years. And since 1968, over a third of all the communities once served by major airlines have been dropped from the schedule.

That leaves you with a lot more road to cover if the airline's destination doesn't coincide with yours. And at 55 mph, the road is no place to be making up for lost time.

That's why it's pointless to expect your key people to accomplish more on a tighter schedule–unless you've provided them with the one tool that can make it possible.

A company airplane.

It's the most basic, most logical investment you can make to improve the productivity of your top people.

PUTTING TIME BACK ON YOUR SIDE.

By freeing your executive staff from the rigid timetables and route structures of the scheduled carriers, a company airplane puts you in total control of your travel agenda.

You go straight from your car to the flight line–with no ticket lines, baggage counters or boarding passes in between.

You can leave at a moment's notice. Fly direct to your destination. Land at any of the airports the airlines use (plus 12,000 more they don't). Conduct your business and often return in time to be back in the office the same day.

As you might expect, this kind of efficiency and flexibility is catching on fast in the corporate world. In fact, today one out of every three intercity air travelers arrives on a business aircraft. Perhaps it's time you decided to do the same.

TAKING THE FIRST STEP.

To help you get started, we've prepared a free and comprehensive portfolio of Business Airplane Reports.

To receive yours, simply write on your letterhead to: Beech Aircraft Corporation, Dept. B7, Wichita, Kansas 67201. If you'd rather call, phone collect and ask for Del Chitwood: 316-681-8219.

50 YEARS Beechcraft 1932-1982

A Raytheon Company

Member General Aviation Manufacturers Association

LOGIC WOULD SUGGEST THAT IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO DESIGN AN ENGINE THAT IMPROVES PERFORMANCE AND FUEL ECONOMY AT THE SAME TIME.

IT CERTAINLY WASN'T EASY.

Follow this logic for a second:

To improve performance, you build a larger engine.

To improve fuel economy, you build a smaller engine.

The logic of an Einstein.

Of course, it becomes the logic of a Frankenstein when you make the grand public announcement of "The Perfect Compromise." And you begin peddling mediocre performance and mediocre gas mileage.

The real trick is to rise above Einstein's logic and increase performance and fuel economy at the same time.

That act of transcendental engineering is manifested for the first time in the 1982 Saab APC Turbo.

The APC stands for Automatic Performance Control. It improves gas mileage by 11%* over the conventional turbo engine. And, at the same time that it's being wonderfully civic-minded, it chops a g-force-inducing second from 0 to 60 acceleration.

Turbocharging 101.

(You can skip this section of the ad if automotive engineering doesn't interest you.)

Turbochargers were originally designed for airplanes and racing cars. When they finally and logically found their way into passenger cars, a problem arose.

Turbocharging generates additional pressure in an engine. If the pressure gets too great, the engine starts to knock. That's the engine's none too subtle way of telling you that it's headed for self-destruct.

So, most automakers adopted a "better safe than sorry" attitude. They set their maximum turbo boost well below the critical pressure point.

The good news: The Turbo could operate safely under any circumstances. Namely, when the fuel quality is erratic (the octane level is low) or when the climate is too hot or dry.

The bad news: Those circumstances happen only about 5% of the time you drive. So, in protecting the engine against a 5% possibility, turbocharged engines couldn't give you full power and full fuel efficiency the other 95% of the time.

Advanced turbocharging: an engine that thinks.

Saab's new APC system monitors the effects of heat, humidity, and fuel octane. It analyzes the data and decides for itself just how much power can be produced at any given moment.

If the given moment shows normal conditions, the Turbo's maximum boost is determined by fuel quality. Which is to say that it operates more efficiently than any turbocharged engine on the market.

The other 5% of the time, the engine operates at the same efficiency level as all the other turbos on the market.

Final exams.

In 1977, Saab introduced its first turbo.

In 1981, *Road & Track* magazine named the Saab Turbo as "The Best Sports Sedan for the Eighties." By unanimous choice of its usually non-effusive editors.

In 1982, with the introduction of the APC Turbo, Saab demonstrates that while it was busy accepting *Road & Track's* plaudits, it was also busy improving the car.

*1982 SAAB PRICE LIST***

900 3-door	*5-speed*	*$10,650*
	Automatic	*11,000*
900 4-door	*5-speed*	*$10,950*
	Automatic	*11,300*
900S 3-door	*5-speed*	*$12,800*
	Automatic	*13,150*
900S 4-door	*5-speed*	*$13,500*
	Automatic	*13,850*
900 APC Turbo 3-door	*5-speed*	*$16,200*
	Automatic	*16,550*
900 APC Turbo 4-door	*5-speed*	*$16,860*
	Automatic	*17,210*

Turbo models include a Sony XR70, 4-Speaker Stereo Sound System as standard equipment.

Take one for a long test drive. At least to the point where your Saab dealer begins to get a little nervous.

Think about the technological innovations, but reflect more on the "driving experience." An elusive concept that boils down to a few questions.

How does the car feel?

How do you feel driving it?

How does the car make you feel?

At that point, you'll be able to appreciate (we presume) the intelligence of Saab engineering on an emotional level as well as an intellectual one.

**Saab 900 5-speed Turbo: (19) EPA estimated mpg, 31 estimated highway mpg. Remember, use these figures for comparison only. Mileage varies with speed, weather and trip length. Actual highway mileage will probably be less. Saab 900 5-speed APC Turbo: (21) EPA estimated mpg, 34 estimated highway mpg. **Manufacturer's suggested retail price. Not including taxes, license, freight, dealer charges or options.*

ultimatum, there was little chance any company would defy the Saudis and risk an oil cutoff. Mobil, for instance, has an enormous investment in Saudi Arabia and was quick to push its Nigerian production from 83,500 barrels a day on March 29 to 135,000 a day for the month of April. "Whatever Mobil interprets as the Saudi wishes they will follow through on, even if it costs them some money in Nigeria," says James Tanner, editor of Petroleum Information International.

To preserve Nigerian prices the Saudis also indicated they were willing to make additional drastic cuts in their own production. That may not do the trick, because demand for Saudi oil is also falling. Both France and Belgium are attempting to renegotiate expensive state-to-state contracts signed with the Saudis during the days when oil was scarce. Under its new Socialist President, François Mitterrand, France has decided to diversify its oil sources to lessen its dependence on the Middle East and give state-run companies such as Elf-Aquitaine a freer hand in negotiating more flexible contracts elsewhere in the world. Another threat to OPEC is the cartel's own conflicts between its richest and poorest members in the midst of a worldwide recession. Under last month's Vienna agreement, the nations with 96 percent of OPEC's population are permitted to pump only 40 percent of the cartel's production.

Instability: There is also the possibility of a truce between Iran and Iraq. Should peace be restored, both nations would almost certainly try to market as much oil as possible in an attempt to rebuild their economies. If the war drags on, it will help prop up prices—and if it spreads, prices could soar. In recent weeks Iranian troops have pushed the Iraqis back toward their border, despite Iraq's estimated $20 billion financial backing by oil-rich Arab states. And Iran continues to foster instability in the Gulf; Bahrain has accused Iran of inspiring and arming a group of dissidents charged with plotting a coup against the Bahraini Government.

For the moment, all the market forces seem to be on the consumers' side: the oil companies have been drawing down their inventories, consumers have been conserving and switching to alternate fuels and the widespread recession in the world's economy shows no sign of abating. New production is coming on line every day—and the Soviets, beset by internal economic woes and the burdens imposed by their Eastern-bloc allies, are selling more oil than ever before, adding to the global oversupply. OPEC's power has slowly begun to erode, but as the Saudi ultimatum demonstrated last week, even a weakened cartel still has the ability to impose its will.

WILLIAM D. MARBACH with WILLIAM J. COOK in Washington, FRANK GIBNEY JR. in New York and RON MOREAU in Paris

Myth vs. reality.
By reputation some foreign workers appear productive beyond comprehension.
In reality, the image is illusory.
Productivity gains of workers are as much a result of the intelligent capital investments of their employers as anything else.
American industries simply have not kept pace.
According to a comprehensive analysis by the New York Stock Exchange, if this country's rate of investment had equalled Japan's during 1973-1979, the economic growth rate of both countries would have been the same.
In short, a worker is only as good as his tools.
At Ingersoll-Rand our concern is productivity. We provide the products the U.S. needs to refurbish its industries... everything from hand and power tools that speed assembly lines to air compressors that enable 40 percent productivity gains in textile plants through air weaving.
We know when given the right tools, American workers are equal to or better than any others in the world.
Hands down.
INGERSOLL-RAND.

Advertising's new nationalism: Spurring America to beat Japan at its own game

Madison Ave. Vs. Japan Inc.

"What about Sony?" interrupts a voice off-camera, the accent unmistakably Japanese. The salesman in the commercial looks nervous but ignores the question. "For the fifth time more people picked the 19-inch Sylvania Superset over RCA and Zenith for best color picture," the salesman says. "What about Sony?" insists the off-camera voice again. Suddenly, the salesman looks confident. "This year we even tested against Sony," he says. "And won."

Madison Avenue is taking on Japan Inc. Chrysler and Pontiac are pitting their cars against Toyotas, Datsuns and Hondas. Motorola vigorously touts its management skills with a series of print ads entitled, "Meeting Japan's Challenge." Ingersoll-Rand publicity pokes fun at the notion of the Japanese as Superman with a picture of a six-armed worker. And PPG Industries pushes its multinational character by presenting a geisha girl in a pair of eyeglasses beneath the headline, PPG IS CHANGING THE WAY JAPAN SEES THE WORLD. In the past year, in fact, attacking Japan has become something of a fashion in corporate ads—what J. Walter Thompson executive vice president Peter Mills calls the new "gold standard" in that form of advertising. "Whatever happens to be the current standard, you compare yourself to it," he says. "You have to say you're as good or better."

National product comparisons are nothing new. German beer, French wine and Swiss watches have always been benchmarks of excellence. But in a period of increasing resentment over Japanese trade policies, the subliminal advertising message in some of the Japanese ads transcends product comparison. "What they're trying to tap is more inner directional—to elicit some patriotic pride," says executive vice president Joe Plummer of Young & Rubicam.

The media blitz is neither subtle nor surprising. "The shape of American industry is changing," says Motorola advertising manager Carole Book, "and the biggest factor is the ability of the Japanese to compete and market effectively." Tackling the issue of productivity head-on, W.R. Grace & Co.'s $2 million television and print campaign asks, "Is America getting beaten at its own game?" The ads feature a Tokyo Giants baseball game and suggest that Japan learned how to compete from the United States. The moral: it's time to regain the lead.

No Offense: Most of the advertisers are careful not to be racially offensive. Grace pretested its campaign with a Japanese advertising agency in New York City, and other companies followed similar routes. "We've been as careful as we can be," says Motorola's Book.

So far, it has worked. "We've seen the Motorola campaign and we thought it was a good thing," says one Sony official in Tokyo. "We want America to be strong because we do business with that country. In that sense, it's welcome if it helps Americans regain confidence in their economy." There may be other benefits as well.

"The fact that Japanese products are mentioned in commercials proves how highly they are considered in the United States," insists Osamu Izawa, an executive of the Japan External Trade Organization. "The irony is that no matter how much the American companies claim their products are better than the Japanese, the American public may not believe so." It is precisely such skepticism that the new ads from Madison Avenue are designed to dispel.

JOSEPH TREEN with WILLIAM BURGER in New York and AYAKO DOI in Tokyo

This Credit Card Is a Computer

They are thicker and somewhat heavier than the ordinary credit card—but "smart cards" are plastic money that can "think" as well as "talk." Now being test-marketed in France, the smart card contains a micro-memory and a micro-computer in a silicon chip no bigger than a dime. Like the coded magnetic strip of a normal card, the micro-chip remembers its account number and credit limit. But the smart card can do much more: it can store encoded data on up to 180 separate accounts, and it can continuously compute debits, credits and current balances for each of them. Inserted in a retailer's electronic reader, the card functions as a credit card that is virtually invulnerable to fraud. Plugged into the customer's home computer and linked to his bank by phone, the card can transfer funds, pay bills and balance his checking account.

As a result, the smart card promises to revolutionize personal finance—and to liberate retail banking from its crushing load of paper transactions. In France, a government-sponsored pilot project will begin in 300 households near Versailles this summer. In the United States, Citibank and Chase Manhattan are interested, and First Bank Systems of Minneapolis, Minn., will begin its own experiment with tele-banking this summer for a group of farm families in North Dakota.

The smart card may have other uses. It might, for example, be programed with a hospital patient's medical records or serve as a soldier's electronic "dog tag." The Agriculture Department is studying its application to the food-stamp program: a test may be conducted in Michigan this year.

For potential users, the system's biggest drawback is the price: smart cards currently cost $18 apiece to produce, compared with 65 cents for an ordinary credit card. Consumers may discover another disadvantage as well: by instantly balancing all accounts, the card will eliminate the time-honored game of playing the monthly float.

JANE BRYANT QUINN

Justice for the Poor

If you think that justice in the United States should belong to those who can afford to buy it, go on to the next story. You are getting your wish and will want to leave well enough alone.

But it's Red Alert for bleeding hearts who think that even the poor deserve their day in court.

The Legal Services Corp., which funds free legal services for the poor, is being Reaganized. It lost a quarter of its budget this fiscal year, shut 288 offices, dropped 30 percent of its staff and turned away thousands of needy clients (maximum individual incomes: about $5,400). Reagan tried to end the program permanently, but was stopped by Congress's sentimental faith in the old ideal of equal access to the law. So instead of the swift chop, legal aid is suffering a slow dismemberment.

Low-income clients no longer have the same legal remedies that are available to the rich. Congress is considering legislation to stop legal-aid lawyers from bringing class-action suits and from doing certain kinds of lobbying—two activities that paid, private lawyers engage in all the time. Poverty lawyers can't take certain kinds of cases that congressmen don't like. They might even be stopped from suing the government on behalf of low-income clients whose rights have been denied. Ironically, a 1980 law provides legal aid to small-business men who win lawsuits against the government. Successfully suing the government, with government funds, is something else that may be limited to the well-to-do.

The President is deliberately putting people in charge of the Legal Services Corp. who are antipathetic to its purposes. One proposed director comes from a savings and loan association that is being sued by legal aid in California for alleged improper foreclosures. Several are associated with organizations that have opposed legal aid in court. And consider the mind-set of appointee George Paras, who contemptuously pilloried a fellow judge for "ever champion[ing] the 'oppressed,' meaning those who so designate themselves, such as criminals, handicapped, welfare recipients, demonstrators, 'minorities' and miscellaneous other have-nots."

Instead of the swift chop, legal services for the poor are suffering a slow dismemberment.

They're calling out the know-nothings. It ought to be illegal to shout "homosexual" in a crowded Congress. Hysterical opponents of legal aid make the program sound like a strike force for gay rights. Legal aid has occasionally represented homosexuals, but not—as far as anyone can document—in cases to establish their civil rights.

Here's the *real* legal-aid docket for 1981: 30 percent of its cases involved family law, mainly divorce and child custody; 18 percent involved income maintenance, like helping clients get welfare and social-security benefits that they were illegally denied; 14 percent involved consumer finance. Only 15 percent of legal aid's cases go to court, of which 80 to 85 percent are won. Conservatives tar this record as "political activism," says former LSC head Roger Crampton acidly, which translates into "their just claims have been held against us, and we resent it." About two-thirds of legal-aid's clients are women.

They're playing the states' rights violin. The President says he wants to kill the program at the Federal level because the states could run it better. But what, exactly, does he mean by "better"? State governors used to be able to veto legal-aid funding when poverty lawyers did things that annoyed them. Such fits of pique, which affected the ordinary legal rights of thousands of innocent people, led the 1974 Congress to rescue legal aid from state control.

One governor from whom the program needed rescuing was Reagan of California. He once tried to de-fund California Rural Legal Assistance, whose winning lawsuit forced the governor to restore $210 million to the state's Medicaid program. Reagan's men produced 127 charges of misconduct against CRLA. An independent investigation, however, found them "totally irresponsible," adding that the state had "taken evidence out of context and misrepresented the facts to support the charges."

That pretty well describes the tenor of the campaign against legal services today. And this time, President Reagan may have more success.

Many private lawyers are taking on more charity clients. But it is illusion to think that they can pick up the 1.5 million cases handled by legal services. A poor man may still be able to get into Heaven, but after Reaganization, he may not be able to get into court.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON

Bernard Gotfryd—NEWSWEEK

Mudd, Brokaw: 'If you don't like Roger, you can always wait for Tom'

Star Wars in TV News

Never has a television marriage been so haunted by the magic of an earlier match. Will NBC's new "Nightly News" anchor team of Tom Brokaw and Roger Mudd become the Huntley and Brinkley of the '80s? President Roone Arledge of rival ABC News sees "no reason why they shouldn't succeed"—though he quickly adds that their debut this week is hardly "the Second Coming." CBS News president Van Gordon Sauter thinks that "Brokaw and Mudd could be very formidable provided that their show is correctly produced and correctly promoted." Perhaps the most astute observation comes from the surviving half of the NBC duo that dominated dinner-time news throughout most of the '60s. Recalls David Brinkley: "It was about a year before Huntley and I amounted to anything on the air. So it will take at least that long" to determine if this pairing will also take off.

NBC's decision to make John Chancellor a commentator and give his anchor job to Brokaw and Mudd represents the latest high-risk air strike in the most furious network-news war in TV history. A year after Dan Rather took over from Walter Cronkite, the "CBS Evening News" is still in first place, but its lead is significantly shorter than it used to be. For the first three months of 1982, less than 2 Nielsen points separated top-rated CBS from third-place ABC. With a single rating point worth about $7 million in annual advertising revenue, the networks have been revamping their newscasts with the feverish abandon of Broadway show doctors. Every month seems to bring new cast changes, redesigned sets and even flashier electronic production pizzazz—all heralded with promotional blitzes worthy of David Merrick. Not even management has been immune from the turmoil; just last month new presidents took over the news divisions at both NBC and CBS.

Within the industry, the pairing of Brokaw and Mudd has generated almost as much nervous speculation as did Rather's ascension last year. Brokaw, the former "Today" show host, will be stationed in New York, while Mudd, who jumped from CBS to NBC shortly after Rather was named Cronkite's successor, will work out of Washington. Both men are widely respected for their journalistic expertise. But in today's dinner-time battle it is chemistry, not credentials, that counts—and the Brokaw-Mudd team may project just the right image to capture the Cronkite loyalists who tuned out CBS when Rather stepped in. "More than anyone else now on the news, Mudd has Cronkite's rural, hometown appeal," says Wall Street media analyst Anthony Hoffman. "And if you don't happen to like Roger, you can always wait for Tom."

To professional journalists, the real question is whether the peacock network's new look will be matched by more aggressive coverage. "We're the best broadcast on the air on the second night," says Mudd. "But we're not fast out of the blocks [on breaking news]." To correct that, NBC is building a "flash studio" in its Washington bureau that will be manned round-the-clock to move instantly on breaking stories. Perhaps more important, the news division's morale has been improved considerably by the recent appointment of Reuven Frank as president of NBC News. Frank, who held the job once before in the late '60s and early '70s, replaced the unpopular William Small.

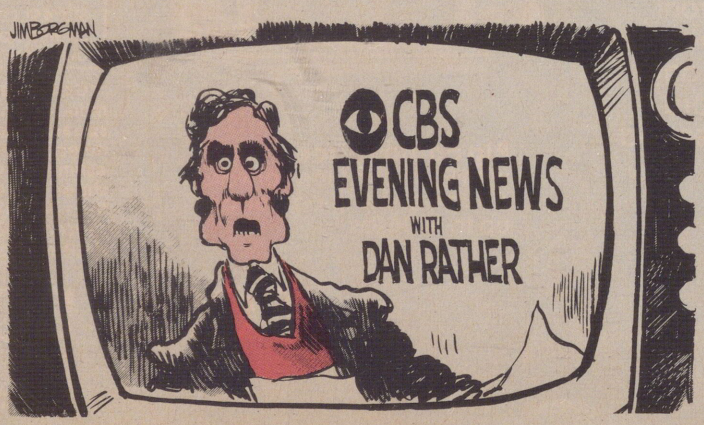
Spirits seem equally high at CBS, where after a shaky start Dan Rather has finally hit his stride. To be sure, some old CBS hands voice dismay over the Rather show's new production razzmatazz. Aping the flashy style of Arledge's ABC and local-news techniques, CBS News chief Sauter has opted for a brisker pace, splashy graphics, throbbing electronic music and "teasers" promoting upcoming stories. Cynics contend that nothing arrested the program's post-Cronkite ratings slide as much as its anchor man's celebrated switch to image-softening sweaters. "The sweaters may have had something to do with it," Rather concedes. "But I believe that CBS remains No. 1 because we still give viewers the best coverage." CBS has also been giving them Bill Moyers, whose thoughtful commentaries have, in the view of ABC's Arledge, "helped provide the show with the warmth it needed and Rather with the comfortable feeling that he's not alone."

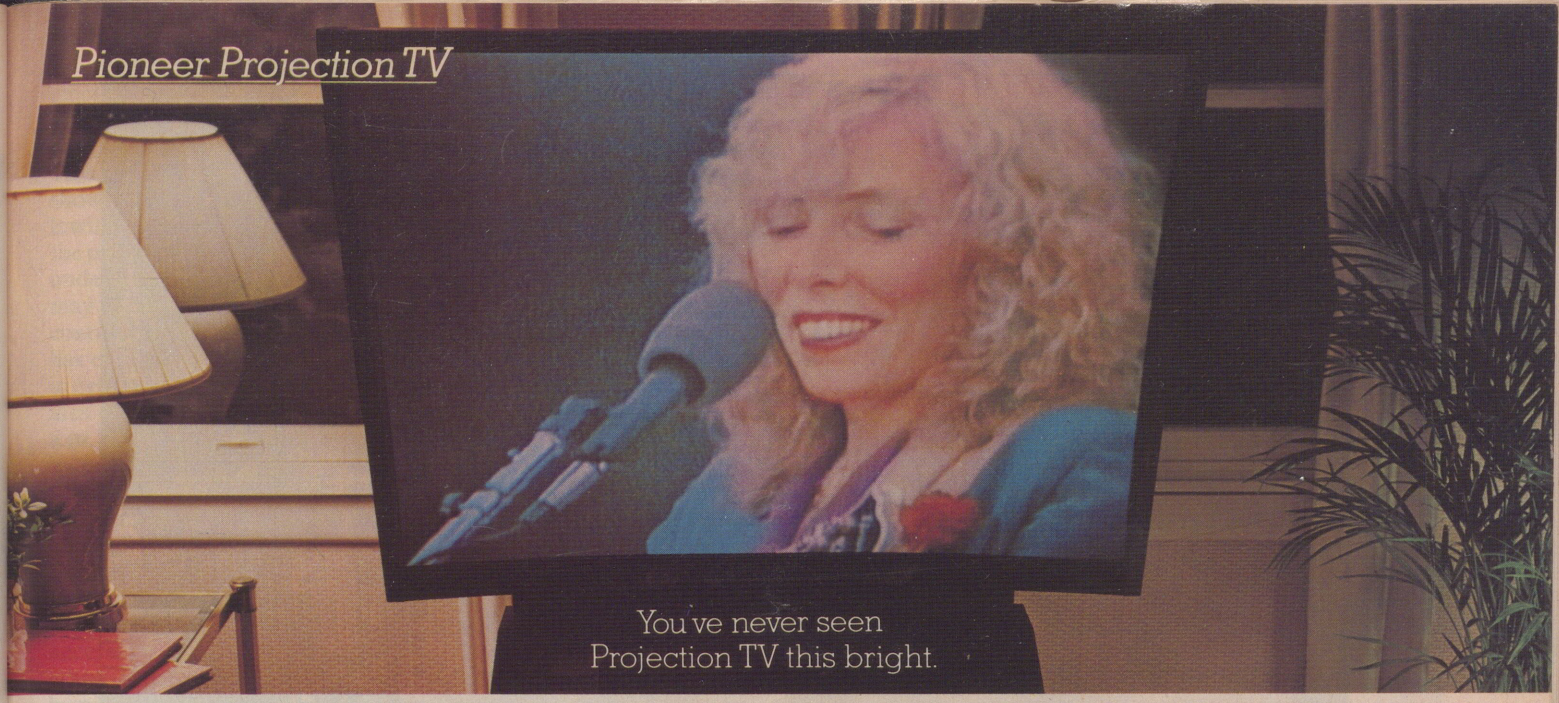
Potency: Amidst all the upheaval, ABC News—traditionally the most unstable of the three network shops—suddenly finds itself with the longest-tenured president (Arledge) and the dean of active anchor men (Frank Reynolds). No major changes appear imminent at ABC until Arledge can assess the potency of NBC's new anchor line-up. Most likely, Arledge will respond to the NBC challenge by installing an additional, New York-based anchor, a job for which he courted both Brokaw and Rather. Reportedly the ABC News chief is also considering bringing on a regular commentator to compete with CBS's Moyers and NBC's Chancellor. An ideal candidate is already in the ABC house—an old NBC pro by the name of Brinkley.

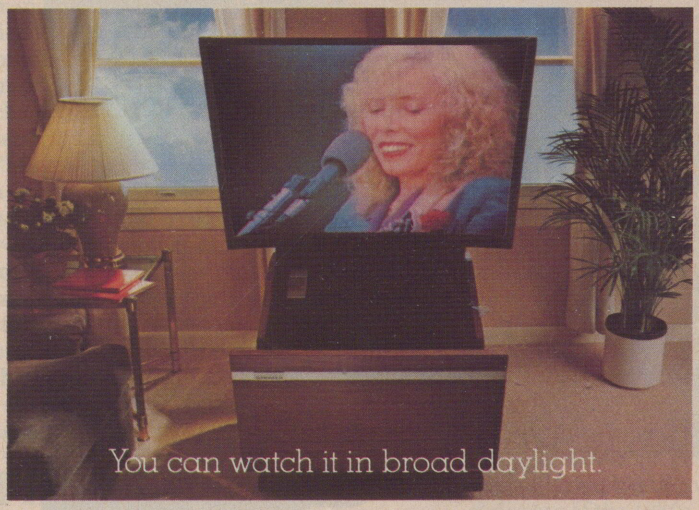
As the news war escalates in intensity, it is also expanding in scope. Blocked from doubling the length of their early-evening newscasts by resistance from their affiliate stations, the networks have decided to make a move into the late-night pre-

'Good evening. . . this is the 236th day of my captivity in this sweater. . . '

Jim Borgman for The Cincinnati Enquirer







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cincts. Starting in July, NBC will be ending its broadcasting day with a one-hour news program called "NBC News Overnight." This fall ABC will launch a news-interview show to fill the midnight-to-1 a.m. slot following Ted Koppel's "Nightline." Though the program's format, title and host are still under discussion, its interview segments may be conducted by Phil Donahue, whose contract with NBC expires this spring. CBS has even more ambitious plans. Beginning in September the network will offer its affiliates a three-hour all-news service from 2 a.m. to 5 a.m. each week-night. Described by one CBS executive as "a late-late-night version of 'Good Morning America'," the program presumably would deter CBS affiliates from carrying Ted Turner's 24-hour Cable News Network and could also serve to train young CBS talent.

More news programs, of course, do not necessarily mean better, more incisive coverage. In fact, many broadcast journalists bemoan the impact of the industry's intensified competitiveness on the quality of its product. "I do not think the reporting has improved," says Roger Mudd. "What's changed has been the cosmetics." As Mudd sees it, the time has come to call a truce. "Maybe [the three networks] ought to have a mutual-defense pact," he suggests. "All would agree to make no changes for one year to see whether everybody stops sweating." The problem is that cease-fires rarely come about until the combatants reach a stalemate—and as long as A.C. Nielsen breaks down its ratings into decimal points, that is never going to happen.

HARRY F. WATERS with LUCY HOWARD in Washington and GEORGE HACKETT in New York

Finally, a Suitor For the Daily News

The banner headline in last week's New York Daily News was characteristically brash: WE'LL KEEP ON ROLLIN'. That optimism was generated by the announcement that Texas financier Joe Allbritton had signed a letter of intent to buy the troubled tabloid—if concessions on staff reduction and work practices could be hammered out with the paper's eleven unions. The News, the nation's largest general-interest daily, lost $11 million last year, and its owner, the Chicago-based Tribune Co., put it up for sale last December after a $50 million loss was projected for 1982.

Allbritton owned the now-defunct Washington Star from 1974 to 1978, and he bought the money-losing Trenton (N.J.) Times last fall from The Washington Post Company. He now has 30 days to work out a deal with the unions. Workers at New York's other two major dailies may have reservations about any concessions that are made. The reason: both The New York Post and The New York Times have indicated that they will ask their employees for any concessions that the News may win.

Bernard Gotfryd—NEWSWEEK

Victims at HELP session: By sharing their anxiety, they raise their self-esteem

Herpes: The VD of the '80s

"I had so much fever and pain that I had to go to bed," says a New York receptionist. "It was like scraping your knee and someone putting salt in it."

"The pain was excruciating," says a Boston professional woman. "I literally could not go to the bathroom. My doctor almost put me in the hospital."

"I thought I'd die," says a Manhattan municipal employee. "I couldn't lie down. I couldn't sit or bend over. I couldn't walk."

The three women are describing their first bouts of genital herpes, a virus infection that has become the major venereal disease of the 1980s. The Federal Centers for Disease Control late last month estimated that 20 million Americans of both sexes have the disease and that 500,000 new cases will occur this year. Unlike syphilis and gonorrhea, herpes can't be cured. "With herpes, every new case is added to the pool," says Dr. Yehudi M. Felman of the New York City Health Department. "The increase is exponential after a while." To make matters worse, the acute symptoms tend to recur over and over, increasing the misery for the victim and the risk of catching it from sexual partners. "During the first year, I had it almost constantly," says Kathy Lowden of New York. "It came back every two weeks and lasted ten days."

The herpes II virus

N.Y.C. Dept. of Health

Herpes can be life-threatening. The incidence of cervical cancer is four times higher among women with herpes than it is among those free of the disease. A pregnant woman with an active case may pass the virus to her baby during delivery, often resulting in a severe and potentially fatal form of encephalitis. Even in mild cases, the psychological effects can be devastating. The shame and fear make men impotent and wreck marriages. Along with divorce papers, a 50-year-old North Carolina woman recently filed a $3 million damage suit against her husband for giving her herpes.

The virus that causes most of the misery is known as herpes simplex type II, a member of a large family of bugs that cause such common diseases as chicken pox, shingles and mononucleosis. A close relative, herpes simplex type I, causes fever blisters. Although the viruses have been known for decades, it wasn't until the late 1960s that Dr. Andre Nahmias of Atlanta's Emory University School of Medicine and Dr. Walter Dowdle of CDC identified herpes II and showed that it could be transmitted sexually. The virus attacks the skin and mucous membranes and the first signs consist of pain and itching, sometimes accompanied by a feverish malaise. Several days later, fluid-filled blisters appear on the genitals, buttocks or thighs. Within about three weeks, these lesions usually harden, scab over and heal.

Dormant: But for many unfortunate victims, the end of the infection is only the beginning of their experience with the disease. The virus tends to move from the genitals along nerve pathways into the dorsal root ganglion at the base of the spinal cord. There it lies dormant until ready to reappear on the skin and genitals. With the prevalence of oral-genital sex, both types I and II can be sexually transmitted and cause lesions in the genitals and mouth. The gay population is also plagued by rectal herpes. Some experts estimate that as many as 30 percent of adult Americans have some form of

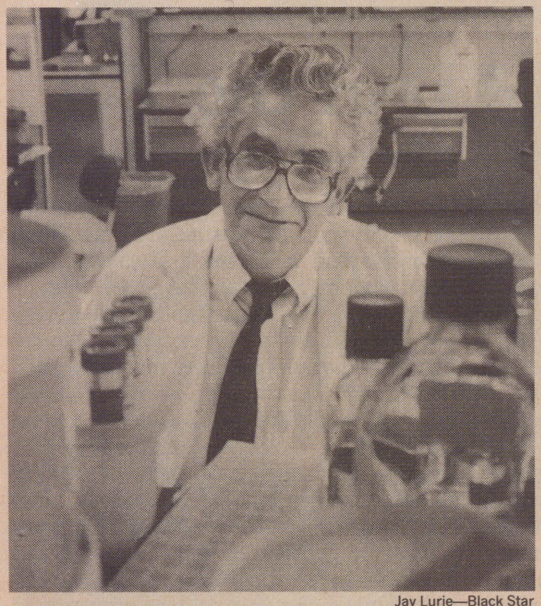
recurring herpes infections. Nearly everyone is exposed to one or another type of herpes simplex by the time he or she reaches adulthood, but most don't develop the active disease. This may be because of inherited resistance or subtle differences in the virulence of various strains of the virus.

No one knows for sure what triggers the recurrent bouts of infection. For many patients, they seem linked to emotional upset, exposure to sunlight and the onset of menstruation. Some can tell when a new attack is on the way by a tingling or itching sensation in the lower part of the body. But later episodes of herpes tend to be milder than the first attacks, and a good many herpes victims have such mild infections that they aren't even aware that they have the disease. The symptomless carriers, however, help perpetuate the herpes epidemic.

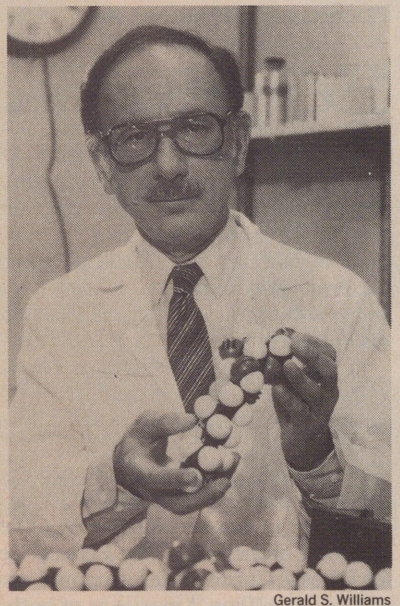
Scores of nostrums have been touted for herpes, but with no discernible results. "Every year there's something else," says a New York architectural researcher who has spent $1,500 on remedies ranging from lysine, an amino acid, to carburetor starting fluid. But last week the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved a drug that appears to be the first to have tangible effectiveness against herpes. Applied as an ointment, acyclovir speeds the healing of sores and, possibly, reduces the period of contagion. Marketed by Burroughs Wellcome Co. under the name Zovirax, the drug enters infected cells and halts their ability to produce the virus, while leaving normal cells alone.

But acyclovir is not a cure. The drug doesn't get at the latent viruses in the spinal nerve cells, and the ointment is less effective in healing recurrent infections than it is with primary ones. A capsule form of acyclovir, which the manufacturer hopes will prove more effective, is under trial, along with an intravenous preparation for newborns and patients with severe infections. "This is really the prototype of a class of anti-viral drugs that I think we'll be hearing about in the 1980s," says Dr. Lawrence Corey of the University of Washington School of Medicine.

A number of other drugs, including the much-touted anti-viral substance interferon, are being tested with promising results. Several research centers are trying to develop anti-herpes vaccines. Maurice Hilleman of the Merck Institute, who pioneered vaccines against measles, mumps and hepatitis, has found that a vaccine made from the protein coat of the herpes virus stimulates antibodies and prevents the disease in mice. He is now testing the vaccine on humans to see if it will prevent recurrent and primary infections. Emory's Dr. Nahmias predicts that a way to stop recurrent infections may be found in seven to ten years. But he doubts that the virus will ever be completely wiped out. Any cure, he says, "means getting into the nervous system. It's going to take a neat trick."



Jay Lurie—Black Star



Gerald S. Williams

Nahmias and Blough: An incurable disease transmitted by sex—and perhaps by lipstick

Recurrence: Right now common sense and meticulous hygiene are the only ways to curb herpes. Doctors advise victims to discontinue sexual contact from the first signs of a recurrence until after the last lesion has disappeared. They should also avoid scratching. And they should bathe frequently and keep affected areas as dry as possible to discourage viral growth. Experts disagree on whether herpes viruses can be picked up from toilet seats and other inanimate objects. Dr. Herbert Blough of the University of Pennsylvania created a stir when he reported last month that a young woman had caught oral herpes from a department-store lipstick sample. But many virologists criticized the report on the ground that the herpes virus can live for only a short while outside the cell.

Experts warn that the seriousness of herpes may be blown out of proportion. "We need to get it away from cancer and coronaries," says Felman, "and put it with other sexually transmitted diseases where it belongs." The mounting public anxiety over herpes only adds to the already devastating psychological trauma that herpes victims suffer. According to a survey of 7,500 patients carried out by Blough and the American Social Health Association, 35 percent experienced impotence or diminished sex drive. A quarter of the victims felt destructive rage. Dr. Elliot Luby of Detroit's Wayne State University recalls one man who became so angry that he determined to infect as many women as he could. Another 18 percent of those in the study felt that herpes had contributed to the breakup of their marriages or longstanding relationships. "This ghost kept getting more significant so sex pretty much dwindled off to nothing," says Charles, a 39-year-old Atlanta college teacher who had picked up herpes before his marriage. Finally, more than half of those surveyed gave up on sex, at least for a time. "I felt like I was out of the running for the rest of my life," says Kathy Lowden.

Groups: Herpes victims can effectively help each other over the psychological hurdles. The Herpes Resource Center of Palo Alto, Calif., sponsors 50 HELP groups around the country where they try to bolster their self-esteem. "I felt terrified," says David Watson, a Long Beach, Calif., psychiatric social worker. "When you begin sharing with other people, it's like being with survivors of a flood or a POW camp." At one recent session in New York, patients discussed what to do about sex when a spouse has an attack. "You can still be nice to each other in other ways," says one member. "When you're not feeling good about yourself, it really feels wonderful to be in someone else's arms."

One of the most delicate questions raised at HELP sessions: when to tell a prospective partner you have herpes? As expected, the answers vary. "It's an intimate part of my life," says the New York architectural researcher. "I'm going to tell only when I'm ready to tell other intimate things about myself." But other victims are quite willing to disclose their disease. "The men I know have to trust me," says a Los Angeles speech pathologist. "If they say 'No,' it's their loss and they don't want intimacy in the first place." Many victims say that their attitudes toward sex have changed because of their experience, and they have given up casual relationships for deeper, more serious ones. "Herpes," suggests one New Yorker, "might bring about the emotional revolution that should have happened with the sexual revolution."

MATT CLARK with HOLLY MORRIS in Atlanta, JACOB YOUNG in Detroit, MARIANA GOSNELL and DEBORAH WITHERSPOON in New York and bureau reports

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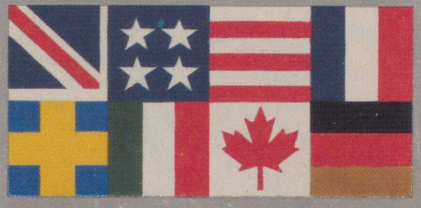

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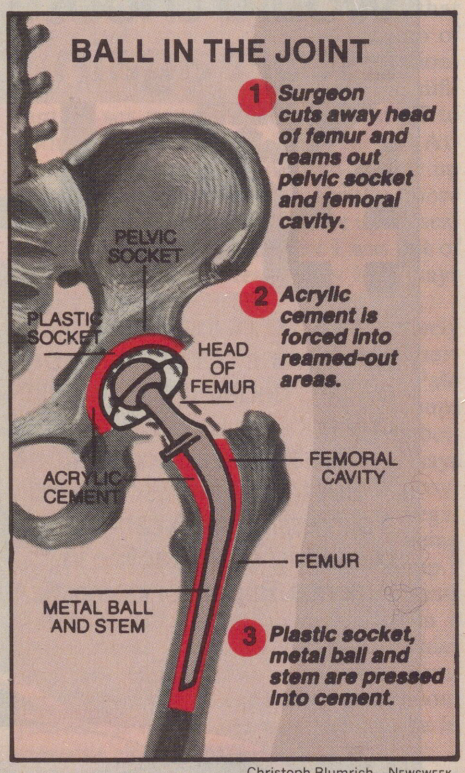
Seat belts save lives—buckle up.

FORD ESCORT Ford

Engineering New Hips

The human hip joint is a neat bit of engineering—a mechanical ball and socket designed to take extraordinary stress and strain. But when the joint fails, through disease or injury, the result is uniquely painful and crippling. "I couldn't walk more than a block or two without terrific pain," says Chester Friedman, a 75-year-old New York importer. Fortunately for Friedman and thousands of other Americans, replacement of the hip joint is another engineering feat that has become one of the great success stories of modern surgery. Friedman now plays golf twice a week and walks as much as he likes. "It has made a tremendous difference in my life," he says.

Bill Hickey—Mel DiGiacomo Associates


BALL IN THE JOINT
1 Surgeon cuts away head of femur and reams out pelvic socket and femoral cavity.
PELVIC SOCKET
2 Acrylic cement is forced into reamed-out areas.
PLASTIC SOCKET
HEAD OF FEMUR
FEMORAL CAVITY
ACRYLIC CEMENT
FEMUR
METAL BALL AND STEM
3 Plastic socket, metal ball and stem are pressed into cement.

Christoph Blumrich—Newsweek

A triumph of modern surgery: Wilson in sterile garb, replacing a hip

Creating an artificial hip joint wasn't easy. In the nineteenth century German surgeons tried ball joints fashioned from ivory and secured in the thighbone with plaster. But the body rejected these foreign materials, and patients suffered inflammation and infection. Later balls and sockets were made out of various metals, but the friction they produced as they moved in the joint caused them to loosen and fail. The major breakthrough occurred two decades ago when Sir John Charnley of Great Britain invented a socket of high-density polyethylene and used methyl methacrylate, an acrylic cement, to hold it in place. Today more than 65,000 Americans get artificial hip joints each year, and in 90 percent of the cases the operation is a success. "We've finally got the bear by the tail," says Dr. Philip D. Wilson of New York's Hospital for Special Surgery.

The vast majority of hip-replacement patients are over 55. Many are the victims of osteoarthritis, joint inflammation resulting from wear and tear and most likely to occur in the joints that bear the most weight. The operation is also widely used in patients with rheumatoid arthritis, a more severe type of joint inflammation that can afflict younger people. Ruth Horr, 45, a Connecticut housewife, developed the disease when she was only 24 and within five years was nearly bedridden because of the deterioration of her hip joints. "They hurt so much that if you nudged them, it would bring tears to my eyes," she says. But surgery saved Mrs. Horr from being a total cripple and relieved her pain. The operation is often performed on elderly women whose hips fracture because of osteoporosis, the thinning of bone that occurs after menopause. Victims of aseptic necrosis, joint deterioration due to insufficient blood supply, also benefit from hip replacement.

Firm Base: The surgery demands teamwork and considerable orthopedic skill. First the surgeon exposes the hip socket, removes damaged cartilage and bone with reaming instruments and then cleans the underlying bone with Water Piks. Acrylic

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS.

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cement is then mixed from powder and liquid into a cream and squirted into the bone with a syringe. The surgeon presses a disc on the open socket to force the cement into the porous bone tissue to provide a firm base. Then he chooses a preformed plastic socket of the appropriate size and presses it into the cement until it sticks. Turning to the thighbone, the surgeon removes the damaged ball joint, cleans out the hollow cavity of the femur and injects cement. He then inserts the artificial ball joint, made of titanium or another alloy, into the hollowed-out bone.

Infection is one of the major hazards of the operation, particularly for rheumatoid arthritis victims who have been taking steroids. So surgery is usually done under "clean room" conditions: the surgeons and technicians wear special helmets and space-age suits to seal off their germs from the patient. They often administer antibiotics intravenously throughout the procedure. Such precautions have reduced the incidence of postoperative infection to less than .5 percent, according to Wilson. The operative mortality for hip replacement is less than 1 percent, a remarkably low figure considering the age of many of the patients.

Jolts and Shocks: A long-term complication is weakening of the bone adjacent to the implanted metal joint. Because it is no longer taking stress, Wilson explains, the bone tissue tends to atrophy. The major complication, however, is loosening of the joint through repeated jolts and shocks. The reduction of such problems depends mainly on the skill of the surgeon. At a recent seminar on hip replacement at the National Institutes of Health, Dr. Frank Stinchfield of New York's Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital said that an orthopedic unit should perform two or three such procedures a week to maintain competence. Moreover, the hospitals in which the operations are done must have sufficient technical staff and a large—and expensive—inventory of devices that can be tailored to each patient. The cost of the surgery averages $9,500.

Patients usually spend two weeks in the hospital and will need crutches or a cane for about three months. The vast majority are pain-free and the artificial joints operate efficiently for at least ten years following surgery. "The ability of these patients to clean their homes, shop, tie their shoes and pull on stockings was markedly improved," said one study presented at the NIH meeting. Patients can usually swim, bicycle and play golf, but must avoid sports that put undue shock on the hip joint, such as tennis and jogging. But even for the most difficult cases, the results of hip-replacement surgery can be gratifying. "I had to be taught how to go up and down stairs and was on a walker and crutches for eight months," says Mrs. Eileen Falvey, a 29-year-old Bayport, N.Y., nurse who underwent surgery because of a congenital hip dislocation. "But it was worth it. I bicycle 5 miles a day."

MATT CLARK with MARIANA GOSNELL

James E. Lloyd—University of Florida

The lady is a killer: Female firefly devours male of another species

An Affair of the Nose

Mating season can make a status-conscious moth as perplexed as a debutante without a Social Register. Her suitors all look alike and are equally attentive, so she has no idea who is most worthy of her favors. If she sniffs the wind, however, she can make sense of the entomological blue book. Courting males display appendages that emit a smelly chemical derived from a poison in plants they eat. The chemical makes these moths unpalatable to predators, says William E. Conner of Duke University, but to the female *Utetheisa ornatrix,* it's the inheritance she wants for her children. "During this precopulatory pillow talk," says Thomas Eisner of Cornell University, "the female assesses the male to make sure her offspring will inherit this defense against predators." When she smells a suitable father, she raises her abdomen for mating.

Love among the animals is less an affair of the heart than of the nose, and their chemical cues do everything from attracting mates to luring prey. Although most research on biocommunication involves insects, which display the simplest, most stereotyped behavior, chemical signals are ubiquitous among mammals, too. "Chemical communication is the oldest and most basic way of getting messages across," says Eisner. After observing biocommunication for centuries, scientists are only now seeing the evolutionary reasons for it. Applying sociobiology—the theory that behavior is subject to the forces of evolution—they have surmised, for instance, that a female moth who instinctively selects a male with good chemical defenses has a better chance of passing her genes on to the next generation.

Amorous Males: The pressure to marry well has produced an insect vocabulary worthy of Webster. A firefly's basic phrase is a coded pattern of flashes that draws a female to him for mating. But if a male wooing a female is surprised by a rival, he mimics the flashes of a predator that eats fireflies. The terrified newcomer darts away and the crafty suitor wins the race to reproduce. Female *Photuris* fireflies imitate the mating signals of females from other species and attract amorous males—then they eat them. Photuris males have adapted to this ravenous bent of their ladies: they have learned to imitate the flashes of edible species so they can lure their own female with the promise of dinner, says James E. Lloyd of the University of Florida, only to seduce her.

Moth's poisonous display

Thomas Eisner—Cornell University

Among ants, the most histrionic messages make war, not love. If foraging honey ants meet an enemy colony along their way to a termite feast, some rush back to the nest to recruit 200 or more reinforcements to march on the offending colony. Then the tournament begins. The ants walk on stilt legs and rear their heads, drum their antennae on their opponents' abdomens and kick with their forelegs. No one gets killed, and soon the weaker ants

decide it is the better part of valor to retreat and fight another day. According to Bert Hölldobler of Harvard University, this communication-by-ritual evolved to spare ants the bloodshed of actual battle. "If the ants always fought for real," he explains, "they'd have to sacrifice hundreds to get a food resource that is constantly changing, such as termites that pop up here and there, incurring an enormous cost for benefits that aren't that great."

Hormonal Clock: Biocommunication is less dramatic in mammals, but evolution has shaped their conversations, too. Many male rodents send out odors in their urine that are strong enough to reset a female's hormonal clock and make her ovulate. It's an effective way to make sure that the female is ready to conceive—although it's not foolproof. Franklin H. Bronson of the University of Texas says that if a female mouse becomes pregnant by one male, and another comes along and exposes her to his urine before the egg has implanted, the female will abort. The new odor will make her ovulate again and the new suitor can impregnate her.

Biocommunications can show scientists how much related species have diverged through the course of evolution. Bronson has gory evidence of how the signals keep two populations apart. When a male deer mouse from Canada meets a female deer mouse from Texas—a population that separated from his more than 10,000 years ago—he sniffs her and backs off. Then, apparently sensing something amiss in her chemical perfume, he eats her. That is nature's effective, if not particularly genteel, way of preventing intermarriage.

SHARON BEGLEY

How Trees Wage Chemical War

Suburbanites preparing for this summer's onslaught of gypsy moths and other pests have unexpected allies—their trees. According to Jack Schultz, a Dartmouth College ecologist, trees normally keep insects in check by producing leaves that vary widely in chemical composition and toxicity. As a result, would-be defoliators lead hazardous lives, creeping along branches and twigs in full view of predators and sampling many leaves before they find a tasty morsel. Drought or disease can prevent trees from making enough unappetizing leaves, triggering an outbreak of insects. But faced with death by defoliation, the trees fight back. Schultz told a meeting of the American Chemical Society last week that within days of losing leaves to voracious gypsy moth caterpillers, red oaks more than double the level of tannins, astringent chemicals, in their remaining leaves. Tannins hamper digestion in insects, killing some and making the rest more susceptible to the natural diseases and enemies that eventually bring the pests back under control.

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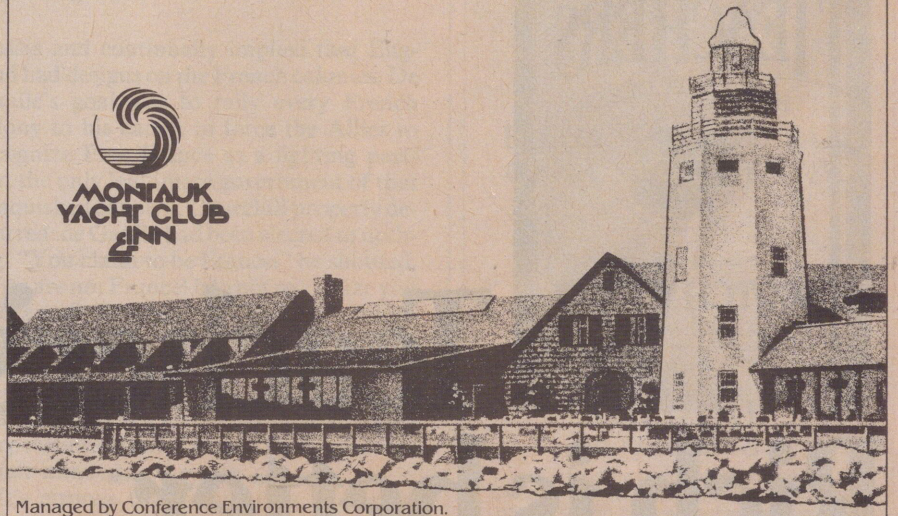

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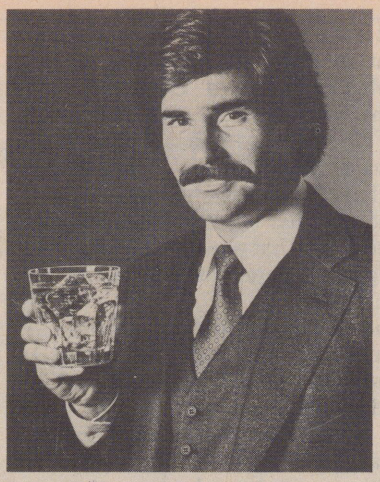
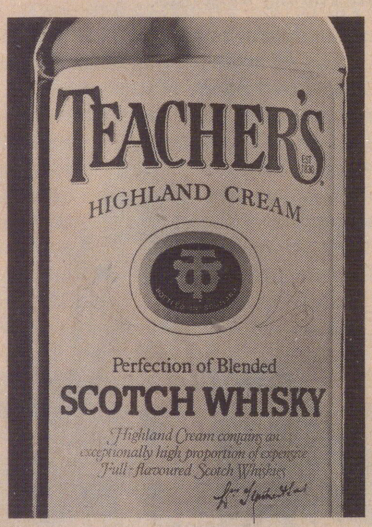


"I've had rich Scotch, and I've had poor Scotch. Believe me rich is better."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Clash of the Titans

Churchill and de Gaulle. *By François Kersaudy. 476 pages. Atheneum. $19.95.*

This old man, World War Two:
He told Churchill what to do . . .

When Flanders and Swann sang these lines on a British stage twenty years ago, the audience broke up.

Cognac, Armagnac, Burgundy and Beaune,
This old man thinks he's St. Joan!

More laughter, but alas! It seems he didn't. One of the more dubious virtues of histories that focus on the periphery of important events, revealing what other histories necessarily omit, is their penchant for destroying our most cherished myths. François Kersaudy tells us that when, after much wary circumambulation, de Gaulle finally met Roosevelt at Casablanca, it was Roosevelt who shamelessly made up the story. De Gaulle, he told people, walked up to him stiffly and announced: "I am Joan of Arc, I am Clemenceau!" Roosevelt seems to have thought de Gaulle a little funny. A fascist, perhaps, an adventurer, a would-be dictator, but something of a spoiled child, too. "Stop his food," he advised Churchill.

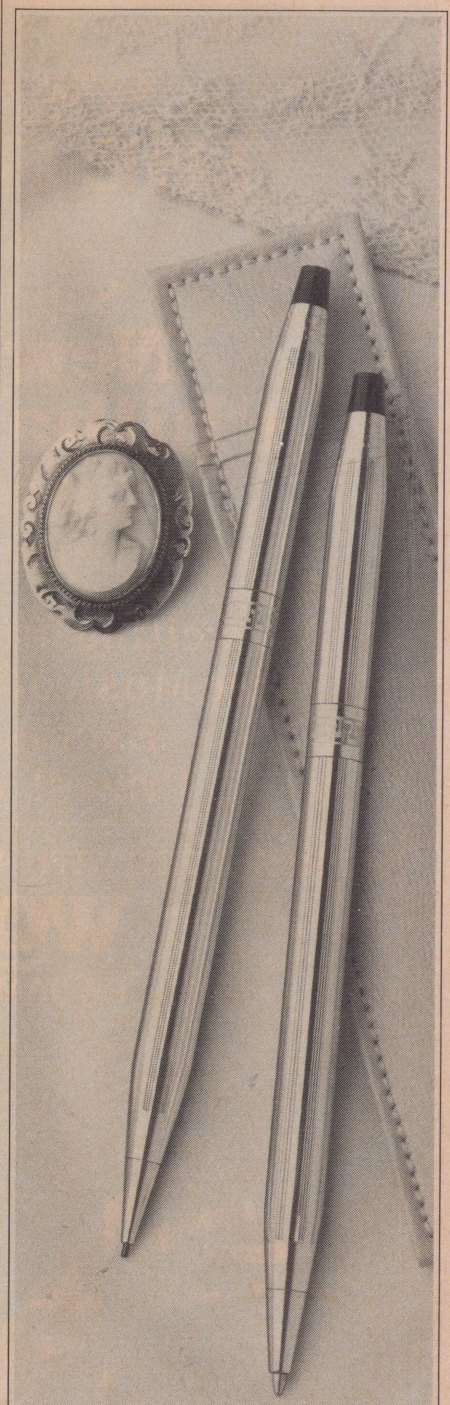
Churchill, however, didn't find de Gaulle amusing. He thought the man had "clearly gone off his head," and though he denied saying that of all the crosses he had to bear, the heaviest was the Cross of Lorraine (another good myth gone), he insisted that the temperamental general caused him more problems than his other Allies combined. The British Prime Minister, an ardent Francophile, had welcomed de Gaulle to England when France fell in 1940 because he was willing to fight. "Deep down under, Churchill had boundless admiration for this solitary and unbending man who was the very incarnation of defiance in defeat." De Gaulle, who was no great friend of England, was impressed by his host's "broadness of vision, powerful imagination and boundless energy. 'Quel grand artiste!'" he often said.

Nevertheless, de Gaulle, who had few resources, had no intention of following the English or American leads in the war. In private he would violently denounce the British and threaten to go to war with them. England, he told a journalist, was in effect carrying on "a wartime deal with Hitler"; he considered taking his émigré forces to Russia and continually implied that England had designs on the French colonies. De Gaulle's goal was to rally every French colony to his cause, to force the Allies to recognize Free France as a fighting partner, the only legitimate government of that vanquished country. Churchill properly demurred: de Gaulle had been elected to nothing. "You claim to be France!" he shouted. "You are not France! I do not recognize you as France!" Whatever de Gaulle did embarrassed the Allies, hindered the war effort, yet undeniably advanced the position to which de Gaulle aspired. Like Gandhi in India, he could succeed in his single-minded purposefulness only because the English are as fair-minded as they are.

It's curious that no one has attempted before to pluck from the tapestry of this war the single thread of Churchill's relations

E. C. P. Armees

Churchill and de Gaulle in 1944: A comic opera for large egos



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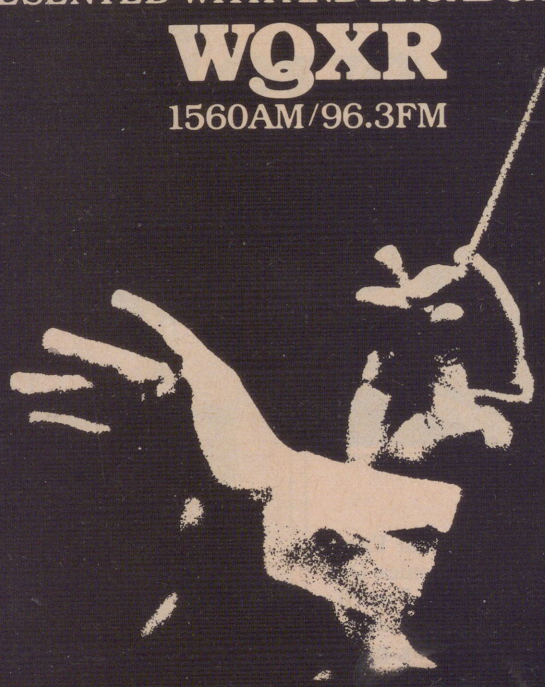

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with de Gaulle. In doing so, Kersaudy, a young Frenchman writing here in graceful English, maintains a remarkably disinterested perspective. Without moralizing he shows us what generally happens when a fanatic tests the limits of a reasonable man: he wins, but just barely. On several occasions Churchill tried to dump his difficult guest; he refused to inform the self-styled embodiment of France of the plans preceding D Day. On the night of the invasion, he ordered de Gaulle removed to Algiers, "in chains if necessary. He must not be allowed to re-enter France." "The Prime Minister," wrote one of Churchill's aides, "is almost insane at times in his hatred of General de Gaulle." By focusing on two of history's titanic egos, Kersaudy gives us history as comedy; Offenbach might have set it to music.

PETER S. PRESCOTT

Singer's Demons

The Collected Stories of Isaac Bashevis Singer. *610 pages. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $19.95.*

Some of Isaac Bashevis Singer's stories are diabolical in the most exact sense. In several the tale-teller is the Devil himself, boasting of how he performed "one of those little stunts that force the forsaking of both this world and the next between the saying of a yes and a no." In others lesser imps and dybbuks enter the bodies of Polish villagers, galvanizing them with Frankensteinian energy before leaving them broken or purified. Singer fascinates because he is a modernist writer who taps our enthrallment with the perverse and irrational but satisfies our nostalgia for the ancient art of nimble, unself-conscious narrative. His characters don't have analyzable, story-clogging "complexes." They have demons. Perhaps we wish we were so uncomplicatedly possessed.

One of the most eloquent of these demons describes himself as obsolete: "Why demons, when man himself is a demon? Why persuade to evil someone who is already convinced?" Out of work, he is exiled in "a godforsaken village . . . so small that a wagon goes through town and the horse is in the marketplace just as the rear wheels reach the toll gate." Crowded with strange, precise detail, Singer's tales take place in Polish towns that no longer exist—Frampol, Kreshev, the pre-World War II bohemian quarter of Warsaw—and in a New York City Upper West Side of cafeterias, séances and fleeting encounters between haunted exiles. This must sound grim. Yet Singer's two most famous stories, "Gimpel the Fool" and "The Spinoza of Market Street," are ecstatic. In one of the New York stories, Herman Gombiner shares his apartment with a mouse whose "little bubble eyes stared at him with curiosity." In the bathtub Herman "always lost the soap. It would slip

out of his hands playfully, like a live thing, and he would search for it in the water. 'Where are you running?' he would say to it. 'You rascal!' He believed there was life in everything, that the so-called inanimate objects had their own whims and caprices."

Both Irving Howe, who can read Yiddish, and the South African novelist Dan Jacobson, who can't, have warned that reading Singer in even the best translations from the dying language in which he writes involves a loss of nuance, immediacy and savor. A non-Jewish reader is at the further disadvantage of distance from the folk sources of his art. I can direct a beginner to the story that converted me from respect to fervor: in "Taibele and Her Demon," a village wag seduces a superstitious woman

Pictorial Parade

Singer: Old and new enchantments

by pretending to be a night-visiting demon. In very few pages, a comic anecdote opens out into a cry of desolation. This is a work of economical, full-voiced mastery.

It's odd to hear a Nobel laureate fib out of modesty. When Singer says these 47 "collected stories" are chosen from "more than a hundred" he's written, he underestimates his output by about a third. I miss some excellent tales—"The Old Man," "A Tale of Two Liars," "Blood," for instance. There are, however, a half dozen previously uncollected stories. Among these, "Moon and Madness" belongs with Singer's most accomplished work. It is something new for him—a symposium story, like Chekhov's "Gooseberries," in which several talkers testify, and the tale's meaning vibrates between them. "Now, listen," says one of the narrators. "You haven't heard everything yet." A mesmerizing storyteller moves, late in his career, into fresh territory.

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Night Moves

White Horses. *By Alice Hoffman. 254 pages. Putnam. $12.95.*

Imagine Emily Brontë alive and writing in California, reworking the "Sleeping Beauty" story because she knows that the Prince's kiss is less likely to redeem a dreaming girl than to condemn her. The world over which Alice Hoffman presides is charged with raging weather and movements by night, with a doomed obsession and a dream corrupted, with hummingbirds, moths, bees, lizards, flowers—and particularly with scents: among them that of roses, lilacs, sage, rosemary and lemon flowers. I found reading this novel to be like eating my way through a pan of fudge: it's probably fattening and certainly not the kind of fare you can live on, but once in a while the sheer sensual delinquency is fun.

The heroine is 13 when the story begins, and already a genuine beauty. Throughout her childhood in Santa Rosa, Teresa had heard her mother tell of the legendary Arias, outlaws who appeared out of nowhere riding their white horses always westward toward the sun. "They're partial to precious stones and cold blue loneliness, and sometimes they're evil and sometimes they're just proud, but they never act like we do . . . A woman who goes looking for them deserves every damn thing she gets, and what she'll get is loneliness, day and night." Deserted by her father and subject to a sleeping sickness that may be epilepsy or may just be her way of retreating from the world, Teresa worships her brother Silver, a young man irresistibly attractive to women. Although Silver seems to her an Aria, a nightrider who will always protect her, the only nightriding he does involves his traffic in drugs.

'Blackbirds': I won't go further into the story except to say that the love Teresa bears for Silver soon surpasses sisterly affection. Incest may be the most difficult theme for a novelist to undertake, yet Hoffman here makes it tolerable by the mythic mold in which she has cast her story. She regards her characters from a distance greater than that employed in realistic fiction and wraps her narrative in clouds of simile. Here, for instance, are two passages in which Teresa's hair seems to come alive: "She felt as if crickets were winding their way through the strands of her hair, making her deaf with their song" and "She hadn't combed her hair, it was knotted and thick, and fell down her back like a flock of blackbirds in flight. Silver imagined that if he frightened her, if she moved too quickly, dark feathers would drop onto the floor." Rich stuff, that, and not to everyone's taste, but Hoffman prevents us from getting stuck in her prose by moving her plot quickly along.

Footnote: the first edition is slightly defective. If, for example, on page 68 of your copy, the transition between lines 1 and 2 is garbled, Putnam will replace the book.

PETER S. PRESCOTT

Sketch by Neal Adams

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Parents of Slain Children

Her son John was a 16-year-old runaway—until the day last fall that he was brutally murdered by a man who stabbed him sixteen times. Even today Kathy Powers recalls the onrush of emotions that left her feeling "like my brain was going to explode." She was nearly overwhelmed by waves of guilt, anger, horror and grief. What made her situation more difficult was that no one seemed supportive. "You shouldn't feel that way" was the best

© Michael Alexander

Powers: No compassion for the victims

advice her mother could offer. At work the boss complained about her shifts of mood. And though her younger son's teachers had been advised of a death in the family, they sent home notes saying that the boy was daydreaming in English classes and failing gym. "I needed people to tell me that what I was feeling was normal—people who had gone through the same thing," says Kathy. Fortunately, she found them before too long in a rapidly growing organization called Parents of Murdered Children.

Trauma: Although its avowed aim is to alleviate the suffering of traumatized mothers and fathers, POMC may be viewed as a frightening sign of the times. As its members point out, the organization exists not just because there's been an increase in the murder of young people but because society generally lacks compassion for the victims of violent crime. "People don't know what to say to you," says a mother from a California chapter of POMC, "so they avoid you like you have a disease."

The traditional sources of help in times of stress—doctors, clergy and friends—are often among the least prepared to handle the special problems confronting the parents of murdered children. "Therapy didn't answer my questions about the bizarre 'alone' feeling I had after Nancy's death," says Deborah Spungen, whose 20-year-old daughter was stabbed to death in the New York City hotel room she shared with punk rocker Sid Vicious. "My psychiatrist kept telling me I should be over it." The Rev. Robert Hullinger, a Lutheran minister from Cincinnati, no longer is surprised by such statements. "Most professionals don't know how to deal with these parents," he says. "I admit I once didn't know what to do."

Hullinger's wife, Charlotte, founded Parents of Murdered Children in 1978, three months after their teen-age daughter was bludgeoned to death by a former boyfriend. From a coffee klatsch involving just three couples, POMC has grown into a nationwide network of twenty chapters, with several more in the planning stages. Members meet once a month and usually begin each session by recounting their sad stories. "You talk and you talk," says Roberta Anderson, a San Francisco Bay Area member whose son was killed during a robbery of a drugstore where he worked. "You keep telling your feelings and maybe one day you'll believe that it really occurred."

Group leaders sometimes attempt to steer the conversation toward such topics as getting through the holidays, coping with feelings of helplessness or caring for sibling survivors. When POMC members gather, they also inevitably end up discussing the criminal-justice system—and how it made everything so much worse. Their bitterly expressed complaints range from cops who call deceased children "the body" to judges who dispense lenient sentences to murderers. Some members maintain that the trial is the most painful phase of the bereavement process, especially when defense attorneys attack the victim's character. "They made a mockery of my Catina when she wasn't there to defend herself," sobbed Harriet Salerno, a member of the San Francisco chapter. "Justice is not for all."

Recently the Philadelphia chapter of POMC invited Ed Rendell, the city's district attorney, to explain how the law works. The politically ambitious prosecutor began by dispensing vague bromides. He was soon interrupted by a voice from the floor. "The longer I hear you talk," said William Frankl, a doctor whose son was shot to death at a party, "the more depressed I'm getting." After the exchange, Rendell finally offered some specific advice. "Go to court with your fellow members," he said. "Judges are mostly cowards, and when the D.A. says that POMC people have come with the victim's family, it can have a great impact." In response to his suggestion, the Philadelphians have already initiated such a program. At the recent trial of Dale Wittick, the man accused of stabbing POMC member Reta Klaiss's son 207 times and running him over with a truck, a contingent of about eight fellow members sat in the courtroom each day as "a visual reminder" of the victim's rights. Wittick was found guilty of murder and will be sentenced in June.

Emotional Outbursts: POMC is active in other ways. Many chapters now conduct sensitivity-training workshops for clergy, lawyers and psychiatrists. Some POMC members have begun lobbying for strong new victim's rights laws. The Cincinnati chapter has published a short leaflet that tells parents what to expect after a child is murdered—emotional outbursts during the first two weeks, restlessness lasting up to four months and occasional psychosomatic illness during the first seven months.

Still, those soul-searching monthly meetings remain of central importance to the membership. "When I'm with the group, I can be as angry and as outraged as I want," says Kathy Powers. "Thanks to them, I know now that I'm not crazy." But the most important thing, it seems, is knowing you're not alone.

CHARLES LEERHSEN with PAMELA ABRAMSON in San Francisco and LINDA R. PROUT in Philadelphia

The Hullingers: Telling parents what to expect

Tom Hubbard—Black Star

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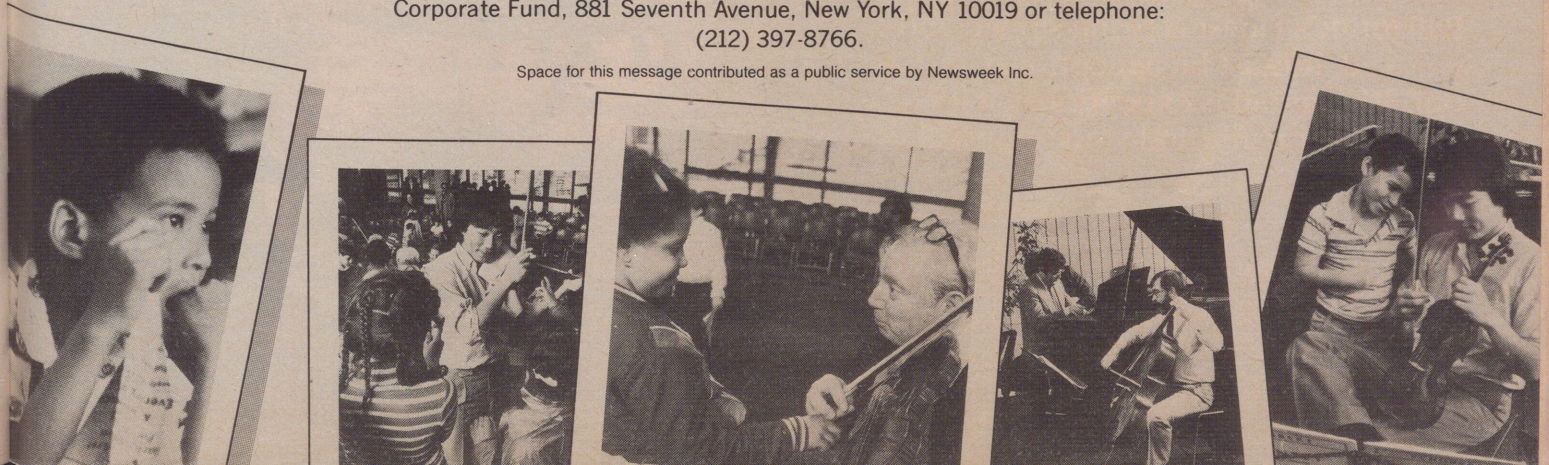

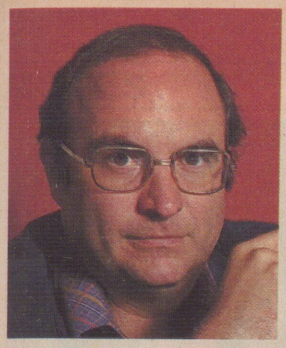

What's Right About the Game

PETE AXTHELM

Despite the traditional party-time glitter of New Orleans, college basketball seemed doomed to lug its most unpleasant baggage across the stage of its showcase event. The final rounds of the National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament had not even begun when a losing coach grabbed headlines with accusations that some of the winners cheat. There was also inevitable debate about the slowdowns that had ruined some games this season. Even the site was wrong: the 60,000-odd fans in the vast Louisiana Superdome never achieved the frenzied intimacy that gives such character to the meeting of the elite Final Four in smaller arenas. For a while, college hoops was not the best of all possible worlds last week.

Then they played the final game. It happened to feature two of the sport's noblest coaches, with a pair of towering superstars to match. Perhaps more important, every kid on the floor was a safe bet to graduate from college. What they produced was a game that put cheating and stalling and every other problem in proper perspective. It was a game of drama and dignity in which even the crucial mistake was more poignant than pathetic. A game to be held aloft through the most troubled sporting times.

Sweet Vindication: North Carolina beat Georgetown, 63-62, because aptly named James Worthy came up with one more superlative play than his adversaries could muster. It was a sweet vindication for the scholarly Carolina coach, Dean Smith, who finally won a championship in his seventh trip to the Final Four. But it could hardly be called a defeat for imposing, 6-foot 10-inch Georgetown coach John Thompson, who has shaped his program in his fiercely honest and uncompromising mold. And it didn't tarnish the 7-foot image of Georgetown freshman Patrick Ewing, who is proceeding on a meticulously charted course toward becoming one of the best athletes who ever wore sneakers. In a night of artistry and hustle, strategy and courage, everyone was a winner.

The controversies that led up to the game demand attention. But those who saw the action can be forgiven for pushing other matters aside while savoring the mental freeze frames from that glorious night:

Pat Ewing grew up before our eyes in the opening moments, intimidating the poised Carolina shooters in a manner that even Virginia's Ralph Sampson has not approached. Ewing was called five times for goaltending as he swatted away the shots, but most of them appeared destined to go in anyway—and the blocks made most of the Tar Heels tentative for the rest of the game.

That, in turn, made Worthy's performance more remarkable. Under Smith's disciplined system, he had seldom been able to reveal all his moves to the hoop. But the challenge of the championship—and Ewing—drove Worthy to new heights. He wheeled, dealed and slam-dunked to a total of 28 points and still had the will and good luck to be in the right place to steal a pass that clinched the game.

That pass was at the expense of the even-

The NCAA final was a night of basketball artistry and courage—and everyone was a winner.

ing's saddest figure, Georgetown guard Fred Brown. Several times during the second half, as Georgetown threatened to open a clear lead, Brown triggered fast breaks only to see star shooter Eric Floyd miss one layup—and Ewing just miss an alley-oop pass that might have produced a crushing score. Then, in the final eight seconds, poor Fred threw one pass too many—without seeing that Worthy was in the way.

In the wake of that mistake, some observers suggested that Coach Thompson was at fault because he should have called a time out. The critics were wrong. Georgetown had Carolina on the run at that point; a time out would merely have allowed the defense to regroup. To his credit, Thompson calmly explained his strategy: "We were right to push the ball upcourt right away, because Worthy was caught out on the perimeter of the defense, where he couldn't have stopped Patrick Ewing inside." The irony was that by being out of position, Worthy was just where Fred Brown didn't expect him to be as he released the pivotal pass.

Thompson, who sometimes seems brusque in his single-minded dedication to developing his kids in his own way, showed even more patience and class in dealing with Brown. "Nobody's mad at Fred," he said quietly. "I told him I've messed up more than he ever has. This game makes heroes and goats. A kid can learn from both experiences, maybe more from the bad ones. I know Fred has a great capacity for learning from this and surviving it."

Culprits: Days before Thompson's eloquent postmortems, Dean Smith faced other questions about survival—the survival of his sport. The most publicized pregame controversy was triggered by Notre Dame coach Digger Phelps. In an interview with The New York Times, Phelps charged that a number of schools were paying players a "going underground price" of $10,000 to play basketball. He said that he had reported two such schools to the NCAA and believed the practice was far more widespread. He also said that he feared that "college football and basketball will self-destruct." Such charges were hardly new, and Phelps didn't specify the culprits. But the Times played the story on page one—and it became a prime topic during Final Four weekend.

Smith met the issue squarely. "People say that we don't have to cheat to get kids to a place like Chapel Hill or Notre Dame, so people like Digger or me shouldn't speak out," he said. "All of us also grow up with the idea that you don't squeal on someone. But I've come to realize that if we know something, we should turn someone in. There should be stronger punishments for cheating. But there should also be rewards, like tenure, for coaches who do things right. We need athletic directors and university presidents to realize that there are more important things than making the Final Four—like graduation. A major sport is the front porch of university life. We should all be concerned with keeping it clean."

A lot of quick-fix coaches and administrators might take a healthy step in that direction just by following the examples of the Carolina and Georgetown programs—on and off the court. Their game didn't wipe away the problems and challenges facing the sport. But it did show, for a few hours that will outlive a lot of darker moments, how bright that front porch still can be.

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Hoppe, Brandauer, Christine Harbot: Portrait of the artist as a tabula rasa

The Actor as Chameleon

"The intellect of man is forced to choose/ Perfection of the life, or of the work . . ." This was the artist's choice as posed by Yeats, and it was a question that gathered painful meanings for those German artists of the Nazi era who had to choose between exile and accommodation. But for the actor who is the protagonist of ***Mephisto,*** the Hungarian/West German co-production that won the Oscar last week for best foreign-language film of 1981, there is really no choice: behind the actor's façade there is no one to do the choosing. For Hendrik Höfgen (Klaus Maria Brandauer), an ambitious Hamburg actor-director in the late 1920s, acting is a full-time profession, on- or offstage. To search for his true personality is to find what Gertrude Stein found of Oakland: "There is no *there* there."

Hungarian director Istvan Szabo traces the rise of this manic chameleon from his start as an anti-Nazi provincial actor, who calls for a leftist proletarian theater, to his appointment as the director of the Berlin State Theater under the aegis of a Göring-like Nazi general (Rolf Hoppe). It is no secret that Höfgen, in Klaus Mann's 1936 novel "Mephisto," was based on Gustaf Gründgens, the acclaimed actor-director who not only survived his association with the Nazis but resumed his successful career later in both East and West Germany. Mann's novel, which was banned by the Nazis and denied publication in postwar Germany on the ground that it defamed a national hero, was an all-out assault on the calculating actor. (Some discredited the book as being merely spiteful, for Gründgens, who had been Mann's brother-in-law, was also said to have been his former lover.)

Szabo and co-writer Peter Dobai have deleted Gründgens's homosexuality (although hints of sexual ambivalence are dropped throughout) and have made Höfgen a more morally ambiguous figure. One of the most fascinating aspects of this ambitious movie—and of Brandauer's quicksilver performance—is that Höfgen becomes more sympathetic (or at least pathetic) as his actions become more repellent. Szabo is addressing the eternal themes of compromise and responsibility; and in forcing the audience to understand—not merely to condemn—Höfgen's predicament, he implicates us in the actor's dilemma. Would we, in his situation, have behaved differently?

Brandauer's Höfgen is an unsettling presence: an infantile egoist who uses his charm and sexuality for advancement, but who also uses his powerful position to try to save his former leftist friends. He's a whirlwind of sound and fury, signifying whatever is expedient at the moment. Brandauer, an esteemed Austrian stage and television actor who looks like a cross between Peter Allen and Willy Brandt, is constantly in motion, a butterfly who won't let himself be pinned down. It's a daringly all-stops-out performance, and it works: Brandauer succeeds in sketching a rare species of victim—a solipsist bereft of an ego.

Anatomy of a Soul: Rolf Hoppe's general is every bit his match—his purring calm is far more lethal than the actor's volatile tantrums. And Karin Boyd, as the black mistress Höfgen keeps returning to until he is pressured by the Nazis to abandon her, is an actress of great sensuality and intelligence. But in adopting an elliptical, fragmentary style to document Höfgen's progress, Szabo shortchanges the other women in his life—especially his first wife, Barbara (Polish actress Krystyna Janda), whose interest in Höfgen is left entirely to the imagination. Handsome, provocative, intelligent, "Mephisto" is a sizable accomplishment that ultimately isn't fully satisfying—one misses that quality of esthetic elation that Bertolucci brought to "The Conformist," a movie that touches on similar themes. Nonetheless, this sumptuous, engrossing anatomy of an actor's soul shouldn't be missed—not only for Brandauer's hot-wired virtuosity, but as a vibrant metaphor of the conscience under siege.

DAVID ANSEN

Pryor in Pain

Why is the sight of Richard Pryor in pain so funny? Here he is, a just-returned Vietnam POW, on a night's leave from the Army hospital, eager for a night of bliss with his beautiful wife. On the verge of tumbling into bed, she informs him that she's fallen in love with another man, that she and her new boyfriend have lost all of Pryor's money and that his mother is paralyzed with a stroke. As the nightmares accumulate, Pryor reacts first with nausea, then with rage; finally, thoroughly overwhelmed, he sits down at the foot of the bed and chokes on simultaneous laughter and tears. This is funny? Yes, as Pryor does it—not as knee-slapping farce, mind you, but as the painful comedy of endured humiliation of which he is the master. There's a lot of humiliation in ***Some Kind of Hero,*** a serio-comic look at the travails of a vet whose homecoming belongs in a slapstick Book of Job, and it might be unendurably maudlin were the Job in question not Pryor.

Bizarre Fantasy: The man is prodigious—but the movie is a mess. Why is it that our most audacious comic actor continually saddles himself with mediocre projects and hack directors (his concert movies excepted)? "Some Kind of Hero," adapted by James Kirkwood and Robert Boris from Kirkwood's novel and directed by Michael Pressman, lurches from episode to episode in search of a tone and a story line. The opening Vietnam prison-camp sequence fails to establish a texture of reality, then the more promising homecoming material gets sidetracked by the introduction of Margot Kidder as the Love Interest. Kidder is likable, but out of whose bizarre male fantasy did her character spring? She's not just a whore with a heart of gold, but a rich Beverly Hills whore who takes one look at the beleaguered Pryor and drops her fee from $200 to $1.75. Not having much faith in that story line, the writers turn Pryor into a hapless thief who outwits the mob for a happy finale. About the best one can say for Pressman's uncertain direction is that he stays out of his star's way most of the time, and since Pryor gives one of his subtlest, most sustained performances, "Some Kind of Hero" always remains watchable (no thanks to the photography, which appears to have been processed in a mud bath). But it's high time Pryor stopped redeeming badly made movies and surrounded himself with talents equal to his own.

D. A.

Museum of Modern Art

De Chirico's 'Gare Montparnasse (The Melancholy of Departure)': Geometry and private allegories

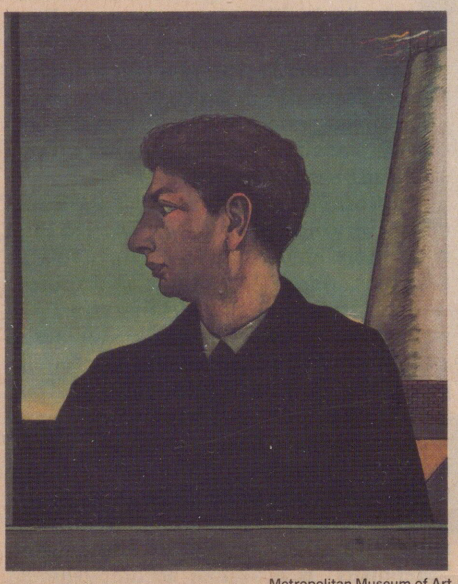
Metaphysical Magic

While most of the Museum of Modern Art remains shut as the building undergoes extensive renovation, a new ground-floor exhibition space has just opened with a wonderfully apt show of Giorgio de Chirico, a master for whom less is definitely more. About 100 paintings and drawings from his early and best period fill the new gallery without overcrowding, and the spacious addition, the work of architect Cesar Pelli, works especially well for him. Besides functionality, its main feature is a gauze-curtained window giving directly onto the sidewalk of West 53rd Street. The unexpected light from the street and the veiled backdrop of traffic and passers-by produce one of those subtle dislocations of everyday life that are at the heart of de Chirico's art, which he termed "metaphysical."

The last sizable de Chirico exhibition in New York, in 1972 at the now defunct New York Cultural Center, was a sorry affair. The artist supervised it himself, and the emphasis was on his later work, which few of his admirers have been able to take seriously. Flaccid pastiches of Rubens and Veronese alternated with sad attempts to recapture the magic of the "metaphysical" paintings of 1911-17. The result, in one critic's words, was "a prodigious adventure in self-parody."

This is the first large-scale showing of the early work. William Rubin, MOMA's director of painting and sculpture, who organized the exhibit, feels that it definitively places de Chirico "just under Picasso and Matisse in twentieth-century art, along with Kandinsky and Miró." (There are those, myself included, who would place his work higher than that, in a special Elysium of its own.) Ironically, MOMA, which after recent bequests from Nelson Rockefeller and art historian James Thrall Soby now has the largest and best collection of the early de Chiricos, was one of the painter's favorite bêtes noires. "For horrors it beats even our own Museum of Horrors in Valle Giulia [Rome's Gallery of Modern Art]," he wrote in his cantankerous "Memoirs." Much of the last 60 years of his life he spent lambasting modern art since Courbet, and the proximity at MOMA of works by artists he detested, like Matisse, Cézanne and van Gogh, would have occasioned yet another attack of bile.

'Self-Portrait' (1911-12): Displaced person



Metropolitan Museum of Art

Oddities: Rubin's choices are exemplary. There are the major metaphysical masterpieces, whose arcaded squares and dreamlike spaces have been paradigms—like Kafka's fiction—of twentieth-century anxiety. Rubin also includes two earlier pictures done in the romantic academic style of the German-Swiss Arnold Böcklin, a discriminating sampling of more problematic work from the 1920s and even a couple of intriguing oddities from as late as 1935. Thus, though the show is small in comparison with previous retrospectives, it is the first to fully establish de Chirico as the major artist he is.

Like Picasso, Gertrude Stein, Guillaume Apollinaire and others who played vital roles in the astonishing artistic ferment in Paris on the eve of World War I, de Chirico was a displaced person. He was born in 1888 to Italian parents in Greece, where his father worked as a civil engineer designing railroads in the province of Thessaly. (Childhood memories of the Greek landscape and of the tools of his father's profession were to haunt the painter's canvases throughout his life.) After the father's early death in 1905, the family moved to Munich, where Giorgio studied at the Academy of Fine Arts and discovered Böcklin's painting and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

It was Nietzsche who was to have the most decisive influence on de Chirico. The philosopher's greatest innovation, according to the artist, was "a strange and profound poetry, infinitely mysterious and solitary . . . based on the *Stimmung* of an autumn afternoon when the sky is clear and the shadows are longer than in summer . . ." Before moving on to Paris in 1911, de Chirico visited Turin, where Nietzsche had lived, and the vast arcaded piazzas and public statuary of that predominantly nineteenth-century city, which resembles no other in Italy, soon began appearing in his paintings. The young Italian was shortly caught up in the artistic turmoil of Paris. Through the

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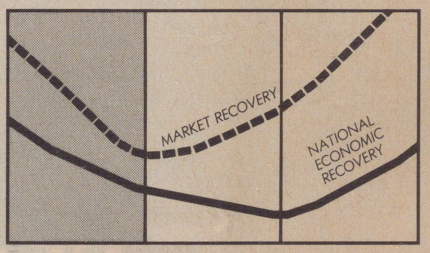
3. Over the past eight years, a wave of reformism has been coming to grips with excess government, excessive taxes and inflation. As the process continues, government is withdrawing and assuming a more passive role.

This means America's corporations should once more become the principal agents of positive economic change.



During the last five recessions, a 3-to-5-month lag time existed between the market low point and the economic recovery.

4. A technological revolution more important than the introduction of mass production has already begun in American enterprise: research and development has finally provided the missing links necessary to completely automate the manufacturing process.

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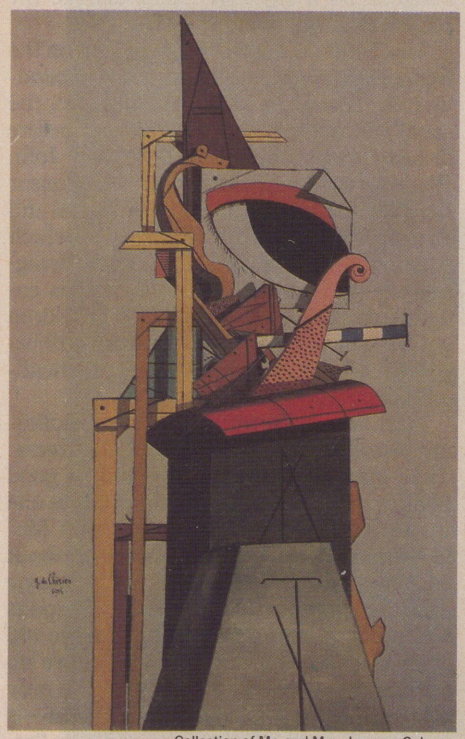
influence of the poet-critic Apollinaire, de Chirico gained entry to the important annual art salons and soon had a contract with the influential dealer Paul Guillaume.

And his style underwent surprising mutations. Abandoning the buxom nymphs and Teutonic classical Greece of Böcklin, he began a series of "enigmatic" pictures in which vast perspectives and strangely empty colonnades were enlivened only by an occasional tiny figure in the distance and the slightly sinister presence of a train releasing a puff of white smoke into a demented blue sky. "The Anguish of Departure," "The Mystery and Melancholy of a Street" and particularly "Gare Montparnasse (The Melancholy of Departure)" are among the masterpieces in this vein. The



Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jacques Gelman

'The Jewish Angel': Pastel jigsaw puzzle

latter picture is interesting as well because it shows affinities with cubism and other contemporary avant-garde currents that de Chirico was later to denounce. The outlined shadow in the foreground has a life of its own as an element in an abstract composition, and so, partly, does the slanting street leading up the side of the station, which indicates perspective even as it hews close to the picture plane.

Vanishing Points: Rubin's catalog essay sensitively relates de Chirico's painting to other contemporary avant-garde tendencies. The painter's seeming naturalism, he points out, is consistently undermined by devices such as the introduction of multiple vanishing points into what looks like straightforward perspective and the placing of highlights where shadows logically ought to be. Other critics have made similar comparisons, but Rubin's is the first major attempt to drag de Chirico, kicking and screaming, into the mainstream of modernist painting.

But the complex play of weightless planes and contradictory perspectives in a work like "Gare Montparnasse" is dissolved in a Nietzschean Stimmung or atmosphere that anticipates both dada (what is that oversized bunch of bananas doing sitting in front of a railroad station?) and surrealism—and renders most of their visual achievements unnecessary. De Chirico was the first artist to dwell on such seemingly arbitrary confrontations of inanimate objects, and if the symbolic meaning of recurring images like the bananas, clocks, gloves and artichokes remains unknown, they are obviously repositories of deeply personal feelings and experiences. It is a world that is sui generis, unrelated to any "isms," and here one can sympathize with de Chirico's defiant rejection of the rest of modern art.

Although most of his great pictures were painted before the outbreak of World War I, there was more to come. Starting with the searingly beautiful "Song of Love," de Chirico began to combine still life with landscape in a startling way: this composition brings together a locomotive, a rubber glove, a tennis ball and a fragment of Greek statuary as though they had always been meant for each other. Later, while stationed in Ferrara, Italy, during the war, he began a series of still lifes in interiors like "Great Metaphysical Interior" and "The Jewish Angel," whose hard-to-read shapes could be the drafting tools of his engineer father or bits of painted jigsaw work or the abstract shapes of the concurrent decorative cubist phase of Picasso and Juan Gris.

And then, at the end of the war, decay starts to set in. Gradually de Chirico turned from his radical style and obsessive visions to investigate the techniques of old masters like Rembrandt and Raphael, and in doing so sank into the flatulent "Renaissance" classicism he practiced until his death in 1978 and which today has but few partisans.

It was a curious end to a career that was in every way curious. Luckily, it is the young de Chirico who now has the final say in this long-overdue celebration. Seeing it brings to mind one of the many unforgettable landscapes he described in his great dream novel, "Hebdomeros," published in 1929: "Though autumn had stripped bare the century-old trees, this whole vast horizon spoke of everlasting life."

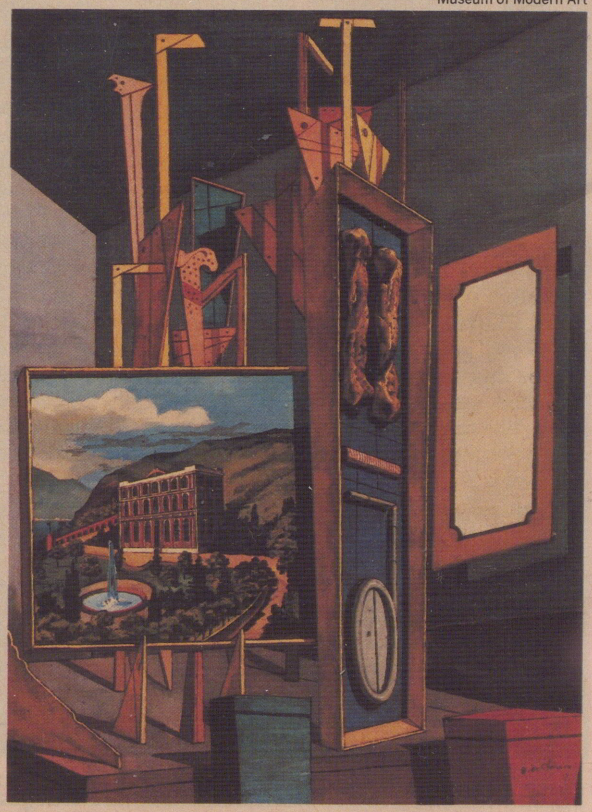
JOHN ASHBERY

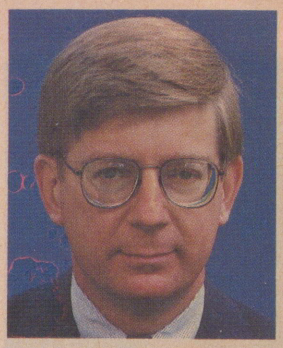
Museum of Modern Art

'The Song of Love': Fragments meant for each other

'Great Metaphysical Interior': A look indoors

Museum of Modern Art





A Born-Again Democrat

GEORGE F. WILL

Being as prone as most people are to allowing wishes to father thoughts, Colorado's Gary Hart thinks that in 1984, as in 1960, Democrats will skip a generation in selecting their Presidential nominee. In 1960 Democrats picked a 43-year-old second-term senator. Hart, a second-term senator, is 44. He is handsome enough to be host of a TV game show, but is disqualified for that office by his languorousness. He is, however, noticeably cheerful about the fact (or so he says) that many Democrats refer to Mondale and Kennedy—fossils aged 54 and 50—as "part of the past." But Hart has a past and has his party's problem: it must live down McGovernism by seeming serious about defense and economic growth.

Hart says journalists harp on his having been McGovern's campaign manager. It must be tiresome. It is not irrelevant. The Democratic Party lurched leftward in 1972, driven by people who repudiated the party's post-1945 foreign policy, of which Vietnam was a part. In the 1970s the party seemed run by, and for, people penitent about U.S. wealth, regretful about U.S. power and skeptical about the virtue of any growth except that of government.

Creative Politics: Hart is called a "neoliberal." That is not his fault. When Esquire published a paean to Hart and other neoliberals, National Review waxed droll: "'Tough and smart,' Esquire calls them. They have *new ideas.* 'Central economic planning,' for instance—a novelty if we've ever seen one. 'High-tech industrialization'—sure to galvanize the voters. But 'cooperative regionalism'—that's rank demagogy, fellows. No fair stirring up the animal passions." But to be fair, those are not Hart's ideas, and, besides, if journalists had pounced on Aristotle, demanding "new ideas," he might have babbled incoherently about "mixed regimes" and sounded like a ninny.

Political ideas are not like plums, to be plucked one by one from some mental orchard. Creative politics is a pattern of responses by a seasoned temperament to society's vast inertia and small margin for change. When politicians succumb to fascination with a plump, juicy, spanking-new idea it is apt to be simple, splashy and oversold, like the Kemp-Roth tax cut. Indeed, the left, learning the wrong lesson from the right's recent successes, has come up with its own Kemp-Roth—a nuclear "freeze." Like Kemp-Roth, it promises huge gains with no pains. But Kemp-Roth was at least a policy that Congress could (and largely did) enact. A "mutual freeze" is less a policy than a pose, yet another form of attitudinizing.

Its supporters cannot deliver the Soviets, who have done nicely competing with the United States. When SALT I was signed in 1972, the U.S.-Soviet balance was called parity. If that was accurate then, it cannot be accurate today. The Soviets have enhanced their position with regard to most measurements of strategic power—throw-weight, hard target warheads and many other matters. There is tension between the need to keep allies calm and the need to tell hard truths to the American people. Reagan did the latter last week when he said that the Soviets have superior strategic forces. Applied to medium-range missiles in Europe, the immediate-freeze proposal is Brezhnev's negotiating position: freeze with the score U.S.S.R. 300, U.S. 0. A general freeze at current levels would leave no incentive for the Soviets to negotiate the substantial reductions the President seeks.

Now that all God's children got freezes, perhaps that buzzword will become a bore.

There are several reasons why many people are demanding an immediate freeze. People are frightened. (In a sense, they are supposed to be: deterrence depends on a "balance of terror.") People sense that deterrence is less stable than it was, and the Soviets are less restrained than they were before the United States forfeited military superiority. Reagan's rearmament proposals upset people who liked Reagan's predecessor, who killed or delayed every strategic program. Furthermore, and perhaps most important, there is a political movement—call it liberalism—immobilized by its inability to devise a credible political alternative to Reagan's policies on the bread-and-butter issues, such as the price of bread and butter. It does not want to propose cutting entitlements or raising taxes, and, anyway, it looks silly complaining about imbalanced budgets. So it says: hey, let's change the subject and talk about freezes.

The Freeze: Last week Reagan got on the freeze bandwagon by getting his own bandwagon. Henry Jackson, the old pro (he came to Congress in 1941, the year before Reagan made "King's Row"), and John Warner got 58 other senators to co-sponsor their call for a freeze, but only at "equal and sharply reduced levels of forces"—which presupposes either U.S. rearmament or significant Soviet reduction. Reagan has endorsed this call. Now that all God's children got freezes, perhaps that buzzword will become a bore and we can deal with practicalities of arms control.

Hart, who has formulated other negotiating priorities, has not endorsed any freeze. That may be a wise policy and is good politics. (Innocence by disassociation is one way to cure guilt by association with McGovernism.) He has thought hard about conventional forces, which will become even more important if nuclear weapons become less important. He thinks the old codgers (Kennedy and Mondale) have no serious defense policies, and that the only rival candidate who does—John Glenn—is too "traditional." Hart favors military "reform," emphasizing more affordable weapons, especially ships, so there can be more numerous and dispersed components of the U.S. deterrent. Skeptics note a pattern of liberals favoring "better" procurements that always are procurements other than those proposed at the moment.

Having established himself as serious about defense, Hart can now change the subject to what most people think about most of the time: economics. His boldest suggestion is for substituting a consumption tax for the personal income tax, thereby making savings more attractive relative to consumption. This, too, is arguably good policy and unquestionably good politics. It responds to his party's "broken record" problem, the belief that its needle is stuck in an old groove, producing scratchy McGovernite melodies.

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